

Harada

737

THE
JAPANESE PROBLEM
IN CALIFORNIA



Answers
(by Representative Americans)
to Questionnaire



Edited by
TASUKU HARADA

Member of
The American Japanese Relations Committee
of Tokyo, Japan

Printed for Private Circulation
SAN FRANCISCO

THE JAPANESE PROBLEM IN CALIFORNIA



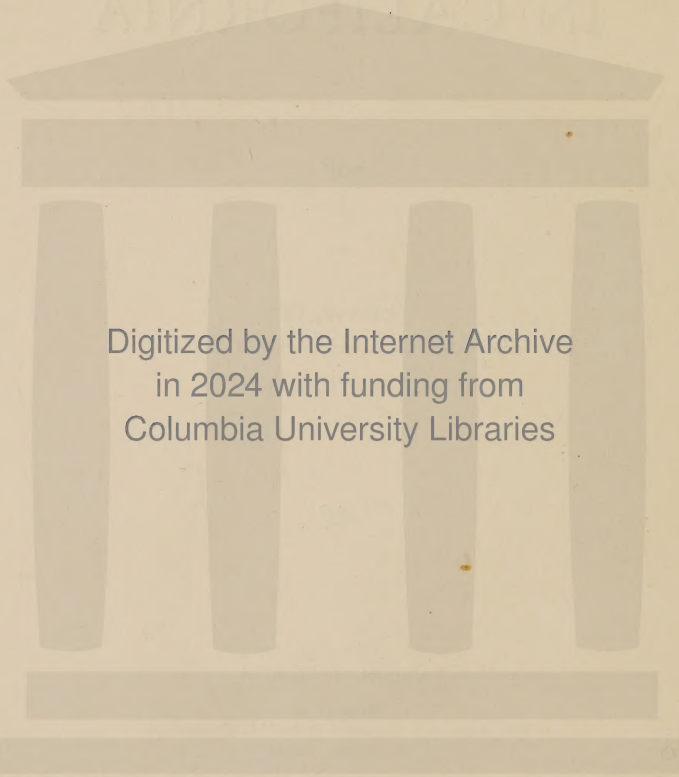
Answers
(by Representative Americans)
to Questionnaire



Edited by
TASUKU HARADA

Member of
The American Japanese Relations Committee
of Tokyo, Japan

Printed for Private Circulation
SAN FRANCISCO



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2024 with funding from
Columbia University Libraries

FOREWORD

The following letter dated San Francisco, October 18, 1920, is self-explanatory :

“MY DEAR SIR :

“As I have been commissioned to the United States by the American-Japanese Relations Committee of Japan, as its official representative, to study the present status of anti-Japanese agitations in California and elsewhere, I wish to obtain free and frank opinions of representative Americans, as well as of Japanese, relating to the problems that lie between the two nations. Therefore, I may be allowed to take the liberty of obtaining your answer to the questions set forth in the inclosed questionnaire.

“The committee I refer to is headed by Viscount Shibusawa, a leading business statesman, and includes many of the most prominent Japanese who are seriously concerned with the maintenance of the historic friendship between the two nations. The aim of the committee is not to satisfy any particular interest of either country, but to foster the mutual welfare and goodwill of both nations and to promote the permanent peace of the world.

“For these present aims I hope to receive your answer, not for publication, but primarily and solely for my personal information, which will assist me in forming a proper perspective, and in preparing a report to the committee, by whom I was sent here on this friendly mission. Your prompt response, which I hope to receive by the end of October, if possible, will put me under great obligations to you.

“With appreciation for your kind coöperation, and thanking you in advance for your courtesy, I remain,

“Sincerely and respectfully yours,

“TASUKU HARADA.”

The letter was mailed to two hundred and thirty persons in different parts of the United States, many of whom are my personal acquaintances. One hundred and sixteen answers were received in reply. Many of them are of considerable length and are most illuminating, while others, though brief, are no less instructive. The viewpoints of the writers and their conclusions are widely different, representing various shades of opinion on the problem.

Many of the letters impressed me as being of great value in shedding light on the situation. In a subsequent letter of appreciation, I requested the writers to give me permission to print the whole or a part of their letters so that not only the members of the committee but others interested in this important problem might learn the opinions of representative Americans. I asked each writer to drop me a line if there were any objections to my so doing.

In reply a few writers declined to consent to the publication of their letters on one ground or another, a large majority willingly complied, while others remained silent, from which I understood that they had acquiesced.

A report in Japanese containing anonymous extracts from several of the letters was published soon after my return to Tokyo. But the publication of the answers to the questionnaire has been delayed for reasons that I need not mention here. More recent considerations, especially after another visit to the Pacific Coast last summer, 1922, led me to change my mind. I need not mention that the very problems discussed in those answers still exist as they did two years ago, although the situation has changed remarkably within the last couple of years.

Twenty-four of those answers are presented here in their entirety, while some of the others are grouped under each head of the questionnaire. Particular letters were selected rather at random than for any specific reason. Care was taken, however, to let them represent as far as possible all sections of the State of California, and the same is true of the country at large. I was obliged to eliminate some simply because of their length. I believe that nearly all views expressed in the answers not printed are reflected in one form or another, in the selected letters and quotations.

Those letters and quotations are given without my comment. A few general remarks, however, may not be out of place. Nearly two years have elapsed since the questionnaire and answers were prepared, and some conspicuous changes have taken place in international relations during that period. The Washington conference of last autumn was not an affair anticipated two years ago. It was an outstanding event in American-Japanese relations. It has wonderfully clarified the threatening horizon of the Pacific. Many suspicions about Japan, so strong in America before the conference, seem to have disappeared, for the present at least. As a result of the conference Japan has carried out her promises in regard to Shantung and Siberia, all of which has been helpful in dispelling the apprehensions of the imperialistic designs of Japan. Korean administration has also been reformed to a considerable extent. Naturally the anti-Japanese sentiment on the Pacific

Coast has undergone a marked change. I have no doubt that not a few of the answers on the Far Eastern situation would have been quite differently worded, to say the least, if they were prepared today.

The readers will readily notice that there exists a diversity of opinion concerning the problems here discussed. The observations and viewpoints are not infrequently so diverse as to range from one extreme to the other. In one point, however, there seems to be a greater unanimity of opinion, namely, in the answers to the fifth question. As to the solution of the Japanese problem in California, a very large majority say that the solution lies in the limitation of further immigration of the Japanese to the United States. But the old question remains, how and to what extent shall this limitation be executed. The ways and means here suggested may be of great value. It is hoped the perusal of the following pages may help both Americans and Japanese, who have at heart the best interests of both nations, in attaining a better understanding of the problem and also inspire a more sympathetic approach to its solution. For in the right understanding and in a just solution of the delicate and difficult problems will depend, in a large measure, the maintenance and advancement of friendship and goodwill of the two neighboring nations of the Pacific.

TASUKU HARADA.

University of Hawaii,
September 20, 1922.

QUESTIONS ON AMERICAN-JAPANESE PROBLEMS SUBMITTED TO LEADING AMERICANS

1. What do you consider the principal reasons of the present anti-Japanese agitations in California: are they economic, social, or racial?
2. Will you mention some of the more important objections or grievances against Japanese in California, or in the United States?
3. How widespread, in your opinion, is the present anti-Japanese sentiment in the United States: does it exist among certain classes, or in certain localities, or is it national?
4. What would you suggest for a permanent solution of the Japanese problem in California?
5. What are the grounds of suspicion of Japan now prevalent and widespread in the United States?
6. What do the people of the United States require of Japan in maintaining the historical friendship between the two nations?

THE WRITERS OF ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONNAIRE

THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

ALEXANDER, WALLACE M.

President Alexander & Baldwin, Ltd., and chairman of American-Japanese Relations Committee of Chamber of Commerce, San Francisco.

BAER, JOHN W., LL.D.

President the Union National Bank, Pasadena, Cal.

BARROWS, DAVID P., LL.D.

President University of California, Berkeley, Cal.

BELLOWS, E. C.

Ex-Commissioner of Corporations, Los Angeles, Cal.

BENTLEY, CHARLES H.

Ex-President of Chamber of Commerce of San Francisco.

BLAISDELL, JAMES A., D.D.

President of Pomona College, Claremont, Cal.

BOVARD, GEORGE F., D.D., LL.D.

President of the University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Cal.

COCHRAN, GEORGE I., LL.D.

President of Pacific Mutual Life Insurance Company, Los Angeles, Cal.

COLBY, MRS. W. E.

Berkeley, Cal.

DOLLAR, CAPTAIN ROBERT

President of the Robert Dollar Co., San Francisco, Cal.

ELKINTON, ALFRED C.

Berkeley, Cal.

ESBERG, MILTON H.

Chamber of Commerce, San Francisco, Cal.

EVANS, REVEREND SILAS, D.D.

Pastor First Presbyterian Church, San Diego, Cal.

FRANCIS, REVEREND JAMES A., D.D.

Pastor First Baptist Church, Los Angeles, Cal.

GAGE, LYMAN J.

Ex-Secretary of Treasury, U. S., San Diego, Cal.

HARDY, E. L.

President State Normal School, San Diego, Cal.

IDE, REVEREND HERBERT C.

Pastor Congregational Church, Redlands, Cal.

JOHNSON, REVEREND H. B., D.D.

Superintendent of Japanese Methodist Churches, San Francisco, Cal.

JORDAN, DAVID STARR, LL.D.

Chancellor Emeritus Stanford University, Palo Alto, Cal.

KNOLES, TULLY C., D.D.

President College of the Pacific, San Jose, Cal.

KOFOID, CHARLES A., Sc.D.

Professor of Zoölogy, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.

KOSTER, FREDERICK J.

Ex-President of the Chamber of Commerce of San Francisco.

LARKIN, REVEREND F. M.

Editor of California Christian Advocate, San Francisco, Cal.

LEVY, LEON G.

Chamber of Commerce, San Francisco, Cal.

LYNCH, ROBERT N.

Vice-President of the Chamber of Commerce, San Francisco.

MALCOM, ROY, Ph.D.

Professor of Political Science, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Cal.

MCCLATCHY, V. S.

Editor of the Sacramento "Bee," Sacramento, Cal.

MEYER, REVEREND MARTIN A., Ph.D.

Rabbi Temple Emanu-El, San Francisco, Cal.

MILLER, REVEREND MARTIN A., Ph.D.

Rabbi Temple Emanu-El, San Francisco, Cal.

MOORE, E. C., Ph.D.

Director University of California, Southern Branch, Los Angeles, Cal.

MOORE, W. N.

President Moore Dry Goods Co., San Francisco, Cal.

NASH, C. S., D.D.

President Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, Cal.

NORTON, E. C.

Dean of Pomona College, Claremont, Cal.

PARSONS, RIGHT REVEREND EDWARD L., D.D.

Bishop Coadjutor, San Francisco, Cal.

PERKINS, HENRY F.

Professor Pomona College, Claremont, Cal.

PIERCE, REVEREND C. C.

President American League of Justice, Los Angeles, Cal.

PRIESTLEY, HERBERT I., Ph.D.

Secretary Committee on International Relations, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.

REED, THOMAS H.

Professor University of California, Berkeley, Cal.

SESNON, WM. T.

San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, San Francisco, Cal.

SEAMAN, GALE

Secretary Y. M. C. A., Los Angeles, Cal.

STRATTON, G. M., Ph.D.

Professor University of California, Berkeley, Cal.

THACHER, SHERMAN D.

The Thacher School, Ojai, Cal.

THORP, REVEREND W. B.

Pastor Congregational Church, Palo Alto, Cal.

TREAT, PAYSON J., Ph.D.

Professor of History, Stanford University, Palo Alto, Cal.

WANGENHEIM, JULIUS

President Southern Syndicate, San Diego, Cal.

WHEELER, B. I., LL.D.

President Emeritus, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.

WILBUR, R. L., LL.D.

President Stanford University, Palo Alto, Cal.

WILLIAMS, E. M., LL.D.

Professor of Oriental Languages and Literature, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.

WRIGHT, LEROY A.

Lawyer, San Diego, Cal.

WRIGHT, H. N.

President Whittier College, Whittier, Cal.

THE STATES OF WASHINGTON AND OREGON

BURKE, JUDGE THOMAS, LL.D.

Seattle, Wash.

McINTOSH, MILTON B.

Chamber of Commerce, Seattle, Wash.

MATHEWS, REVEREND MARK A., D.D., LL.D.

Pastor First Presbyterian Church, Seattle, Wash.

MURPHY, REVEREND U. G.

Seattle, Wash.

PENROSE, S. B. L., D.D.

President Whitman College, Walla Walla, Wash.

SEYMOUR, W. W.

Ex-Mayor of Tacoma, Tacoma, Wash.

SHANK, CORIN S.

Attorney-at-Law, Seattle, Wash.

WHEELWRIGHT, WM. D.

President Pacific Export Lumber Co., Portland, Oregon.

THE MIDDLE STATES

BLACKMAR, F. W., Ph.D.

Professor of Sociology, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan.

BOSWORTH, EDWARD I., D.D.

Professor of Theology, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio.

COOLEY, CHARLES H., Ph.D.

Professor of Sociology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

DAVIS, OZORA S., D.D.

President Chicago Theological Seminary, Chicago, Ill.

ELLWOOD, CHARLES A., Ph.D.

Professor of Sociology, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.

HALL, ARNOLD B., Ph.D.

Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

HAYES, EDWARD CARY, Ph.D., LL.D.

Professor of Sociology, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.

HOUGH, REVEREND S. S., D.D.

Secretary Foreign Missions of United Brethren in Christ, Dayton, Ohio.

JUDSON, H. P., LL.D.

President University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

KING, HENRY C., D.D., LL.D.

President Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio.

LYMAN, F. W.

Minneapolis, Minn.

MILLS, H. A., Ph.D.

Professor University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan., Author of "Japanese Problem in U. S."

PARK, ROBERT E., Ph.D.

Professor University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

ROSS, E. A., Ph.D.

Professor of Sociology, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

SMALL, ALBION W., Ph.D.

Professor of Sociology, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

STONE, REVEREND JOHN TIMOTHY, D.D., LL.D.

Pastor Fourth Presbyterian Church, Chicago, Ill.

THE ATLANTIC STATES

BARTON, JAMES L., D.D., LL.D.

Secretary American Board of Foreign Missions, Boston, Mass.

BERRY, DOCTOR J. C.

Worcester, Mass.

BRIDGMAN, HOWARD A., D.D.

Editor "The Congregationalist," Boston, Mass.

BROWN, ARTHUR J., D.D.

Secretary Board of Foreign Missions of Presbyterian Church, New York, N. Y.

BROWN, WM. ADAMS, Ph.D., D.D.

Professor Union Theological Seminary, New York, N. Y.

CALL, ARTHUR D.

Secretary American Peace Society, Washington, D. C.

CARVER, T. N., Ph.D., LL.D.

Professor of Political Economy, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

CLARK, FRANCIS E., D.D., LL.D.

President World Christian Endeavor Union, Boston, Mass.

COLEMAN, GEORGE W.

Secretary Civic Forum, Boston, Mass.

COOPER, WM. K.

Secretary Y. M. C. A., Washington, D. C.

DAY, REVEREND WM. H., D.D.

Pastor United Church, Bridgeport, Conn.

DUGGAN, STEPHEN P., Ph.D.

Director Institute of International Education, New York, N. Y.

DUNNING, A. E., D.D.

Ex-Editor of "The Congregationalist," Boston, Mass.

ELY, ROBERT E.

Secretary League for Political Education, New York, N. Y.

EVANS, MILTON G., D.D.

President Crozier Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa.

FOSDICK, H. *B*, D.D.

Professor Union Theological Seminary, New York, N. Y.

GIDDINGS, FRANKLIN H., LL.D.

Professor of Sociology, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

GOODNOW, F. J., LL.D.

President Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

GRIFFIS, REVEREND W. E., D.D., L.H.D.

Author, Lecturer, Ithaca, New York.

GULICK, SIDNEY L., D.D.

Secretary Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, New York, N. Y.

HADLEY, ARTHUR T., LL.D.

President Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

HART, ALBERT B., LL.D.

Professor of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

HOLT, HAMILTON, LL.D.

Editor "The Independent," New York, N. Y.

JAMES, ARTHUR C.

New York, N. Y.

KINGSLEY, D. P.

President New York Life Insurance Co., New York, N. Y.

LADD, GEORGE T., LL.D.

Professor Emeritus, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

LYNCH, FREDERICK, D.D.

Secretary Church Peace Union, New York, N. Y.

MACFARLAND, CHARLES S., D.D.

General Secretary Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, New York, N. Y.

McGIFFERT, A. C., D.D., LL.D.

President Union Theological Seminary, New York, N. Y.

MONROE, PAUL, LL.D.

Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

MOORE, EDWARD C., Ph.D., LL.D.

Professor Harvard University, President American Board of Foreign Missions, Boston, Mass.

MOTT, JOHN R., LL.D.

General Secretary of the World's Student Federation, New York, N. Y.

MURLIN, L. H., LL.D.

President Boston University, Boston, Mass.

OLCOTT, E. E.

President Hudson River Day Line, New York, N. Y.

PITKINS, W. B., Ph.D.

Professor Columbia University, New York, N. Y. Author of "Shall We Fight Japan."

PLATNER, JOHN W., D.D.

Professor Andover Theological Seminary, Cambridge, Mass.

POUND, ROSCOE, LL.D.

Dean of Law School, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

RHEES, RUSH, D.D., LL.D.

President University of Rochester, New York, N. Y.

RICE, WM. NORTH, Ph.D., LL.D.

Professor of Geology, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.

SMITH, DAVID E., LL.D.

Professor Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

VAN DYKE, HENRY, D.D., LL.D.

Professor Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.

WILLIAMS, TALCOTT, LL.D.

Dean of School of Journalism, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

ANSWERS TO THE FIRST QUESTION

Question: "What do you consider the principal reasons of the present anti-Japanese agitations in California: are they economic, social, or racial?"

1. MR. E. C. BELLOWS, Los Angeles, Cal.:

"In my opinion the principal outstanding reason for the present anti-Japanese agitation in California is political. Certain unprincipled, unpatriotic politicians have conceived it to be to their personal interest to arouse the public feeling on this question, and have set afloat exaggerated and false stories, which are generally believed. A certain degree of anti-racial feeling, and economic considerations among the laboring class, have furnished the conditions which insured ready belief of these stories."

2. PRESIDENT GEORGE F. BOVARD, Los Angeles, Cal.:

"I believe it to be an economic question chiefly. You will find, however, that people who discuss the question will immediately turn to the social and racial feature of the question, but when we simmer it down to the final analysis, I think it is an economic problem."

3. MR. GEORGE W. COLEMAN, Boston, Mass.:

"Economic, 75 per cent; racial, 15 per cent; social, 10 per cent."

4. MR. ROBERT DOLLAR, San Francisco, Cal.:

"I think the answer to this would be that it is gotten up by politicians and kept alive by them for the purpose of gaining votes."

5. MR. MILTON H. ESBERG, San Francisco, Cal.:

"Anti-Japanese agitation in California is largely due to the non-adoption of American standards of living, working, and working hours, together with the fact that there seems to be no discrimination on the part of the Japanese as to whether the men, or the women do the work, as the same basis seems to apply for both sexes."

6. HONORABLE LYMAN T. GAGE, San Diego, Cal.:

"Racial prejudice, formulated by politicians."

7. PRESIDENT HENRY C. KING, Oberlin, Ohio:

"Primarily economic; especially fear as to bringing down the standard of living for American labor; and also partly race prejudice."

8. PRESIDENT TULLY C. KNOLES, San Jose, Cal.:

"I have lived in California for thirty-three years and my judgment is that the principal reasons for the present anti-Japanese agitation in California are political. I do not think that the economic situation is so serious as it is set forth by the agitators, particularly as the Japanese give evidence of spending most of their surplus profits in the United States of America. There seems to be little ground for the somewhat prevalent idea that the Japanese problem should ever arise to the dignity of a social or racial problem, such as we have with the negroes already here."

9. PROFESSOR H. A. MILLIS, Lawrence, Kan.:

"I should say that the principal reasons for the anti-Japanese agitation in California have been economic, racial, and political. The first two of them have been fully presented in my book and there has been no essential change in the situation. The political reason has increased in importance. On the one hand it has been good politics for candidates for office to stand for most anything anti-Japanese and the very fact that prominent politicians have done so has made for further agitation. On the other hand I find a very general feeling that the Japanese government stands for power very much as Germany did before the war, and that this was well shown when the peace treaty and the League of Nations were under consideration. Without question there is much more fear of Japan's attitude than there was four or five years ago."

10. REVEREND U. G. MURPHY, Seattle, Wash.:

"The principal reason is racial. Other nationalities are doing the very same that the Japanese are doing, have always done these things, and yet very little is said about it, because these other aliens are of the white race, which means that ultimate physical assimilation is possible. Because the opposition to the Japanese is almost altogether racial, there is, of necessity, some degree of social antipathy."

11. PROFESSOR E. C. NORTON, Claremont, Cal.:

"I think the immediate recrudescence of hostile feeling is pretty largely due to the fact that it is cultivated for political purposes. Candidates for election or reelection find here a ready means to arouse the interest and gain the votes of the thoughtless and prejudiced. Of course, behind this lie both economic theories and fears and racial prejudices."

12. PROFESSOR ROBERT E. PARK, Chicago, Ill.:

"Racial competition, i. e., competition between peoples different in culture, language and race. Where racial differences are as marked

as they are in the case of the Japanese and the American, public sentiment opposes intermarriage. Where intermarriage does not take place assimilation is never complete and the difficulty of the two races mutually accommodating themselves to one another, while maintaining each a separate racial existence, is bound to be very great. A racial group which is small in numbers, intimate, compact, and well organized, as is the case of the Jew and the Japanese, has, in the long run, great advantages in competition with a larger and less organized community. If there are already racial prejudices this kind of competition intensifies them."

13. PROFESSOR W. B. PITKINS, New York, N. Y.:

"Overwhelmingly economic, but complicated by the fact that the small farming communities are being broken up by Japanese newcomers and the social stability of the old inhabitants upset."

14. MR. WM. T. SESNON, San Francisco, Cal.:

"The principal reason for the present anti-Japanese agitation is the growth of a permanent population which is politically ineligible and which does not assimilate with our people. Naturally when the Japanese population grows to a sufficient extent and concentrates in colonies on our lands, and by its thrift and ability becomes competitively offensive, it furnishes a fertile ground for successful agitation upon the part of politicians and others who on conscientious and other grounds desire drastic and repressive legislation."

15. REVEREND W. B. THORP, Palo Alto, Cal.:

"The primary cause of the anti-Japanese agitation in California is undoubtedly racial. A body of Western immigrants doing precisely the things the Japanese are doing in California would be welcomed and praised. The agitation is essentially agitation for racial homogeneity in this land. Its most telling slogan is 'Keep California White.'"

16. MR. JULIUS WANGENHEIM, San Diego, Cal.:

"The problem of the Japanese in California must be viewed from two standpoints, which are in a measure conflicting: from an economic standpoint, Japanese immigration would unquestionably be a good thing for the country; from the social, it would quite likely be detrimental to the best interests of the state; and these, therefore, must be weighed, one against the other.

"While the above does not thoroughly answer your question, it has a direct bearing on it. The agitation, in my opinion, is based primarily on social grounds, but these soon take on a racial aspect, and after that sound judgment is impossible even from the economic side."

ANSWERS TO THE SECOND QUESTION

Question: "Will you mention some of the more important objections or grievances against Japanese in California, or in the United States?"

1. MR. GEORGE W. COLEMAN, Boston, Mass.:

"Cheap scale of living as compared with ours. They are too clever, industrious, thrifty, and prolific."

2. PROFESSOR H. COOLEY, Ann Arbor, Mich.:

"It is my observation that nearly all Americans like the Japanese. It is generally admitted that they are personally delightful, and they are much more popular in this regard than, say, the Jews. But many think they are collectively dangerous, either as a nation or as groups of settlers in America. My own opinion is that they are in no way dangerous to us so long as they do not settle here in large numbers. There is a widespread belief, based on experience, that if they did they would form unassimilated groups, and thus destroy the homogeneity of our population. Why this should be the case with Orientals more than with Europeans it is hard to say, but it seems to be a fact, and we must be guided by facts. Much as I like the Japanese I am opposed to their immigration."

3. MR. MILTON H. ESBERG, San Francisco, Cal.:

"Undoubtedly the Japanese realize the nonassimilability of Japanese and American blood, which is also recognized by Americans. By reason of dissimilar aims, ambitions, religion, customs, national pride, and considerations, the two peoples do not think along the same lines."

4. DOCTOR DAVID STARR JORDAN, Palo Alto, Cal.:

"Most of the criticisms are grossly exaggerated. It is true that the farmer-Japanese came generally from Hawaii; having been, then, serfs and coming originally from the homeless farmer class in Yamaguchi and Okayama, Japan, they are ignorant and perforce clannish, and non-naturalization keeps them so. The children are readily 'assimilated,' except in looks."

5. PRESIDENT H. P. JUDSON, Chicago, Ill.:

"I am not aware of any prejudice against the Japanese either in California or elsewhere in the United States except the economic one

of the immigration of considerable numbers from Japan, which constitutes a serious competition with existing forms of economic progress in California.”

6. PRESIDENT HENRY C. KING, Oberlin, Ohio :

“Many feel that the Japanese are so intensely national that they never become really a part of another people, and so inclined to use their residence in America primarily simply for financial gain. There are many others also who feel that Japan’s general attitude and form of government are too largely formed on Prussian models. So that it stands rather as an old-time autocracy with little that is really democratic in it.”

7. PRESIDENT TULLY C. KNOLES, San Jose, Cal. :

“The objection most frequently heard to the increase of the number of Japanese in California is that they are securing such large quantities of desirable agricultural and horticultural land by the process of purchase and leasing in the name of their children who are already citizens of the United States by virtue of the fourteenth amendment, and if their success in these fields continue, their standard of living, being lower than that of the American, will tend to racial competition disastrous for the higher standard of living.

“In the second place, the objection is quite seriously raised to the continuance of the Japanese picture-bride arrangement. I understand, however, that this project has been abandoned, but it must be met by earnest argument for many years.

“Incidentally, we hear the fact mentioned that all aliens are debarred from the ownership of real estate in Japan, and occasionally the objection is made that even though Japanese children born in the United States are technically citizens of the United States, attempts are being made to give them in Japanese schools such a training as will prejudice them against the United States and lead them as they approach their majority to continue their relations as citizens of the mother country of their ancestors.”

8. REVEREND F. M. LARKIN, San Francisco, Cal. :

“First, economic competition growing out of the fact that unmarried men without families can underlive and consequently eliminate men with families. Social and racial differences which produce naturally race prejudice. I do not believe that any race naturally is without race prejudice. It is only overcome by the acceptance of the higher ideal as taught by Jesus Christ. The promotion of Buddhism among groups of Japanese which has essentially different standards of life

from Christianity. I am not now asserting that one is better than the other, simply stating the fact that they are different and naturally the majority in any country think that they are right. History shows that whenever large groups of different races come together they quarrel."

9. MR. LEON G. LEVY, San Francisco, Cal.:

"1. Economic—(a) Lower standards of living with special reference to food, housing, hours, women's labor. (b) Fear that presence of cheap labor in California will prevent influx of desirable white labor. (c) Unfair practices in competition by farm labor and coöperative land companies.

"2. Social—(a) Nonassimilability. (b) Double standards in loyalty, education, and religion. (c) Racial. (d) Possible conflict between white and yellow race for supremacy on the Pacific Coast of the United States through growth of Japanese population. (e) Fear of further development of race prejudice and a consequent real race problem."

10. MR. W. N. MOORE, San Francisco, Cal.:

"Economics—The Japanese work longer hours and require their women to do men's work; also, notwithstanding their greater consequent earning power, they do not maintain the American standard of living.

"Social—They seem to recognize, as do Americans, the objections to blood mixture, and in consequence live in colonies, separate and apart from their white neighbors.

"Racial—Not in the sense which would imply inferiority or superiority of the white or yellow race, but fundamental differences in religion, habits, and ideals, which time and experience have failed to reconcile.

"I might add, that the national pride of the Japanese, commendable in a sense, but which leads them to frequent appeals to their home government rather than local public sentiment, has caused friction if not prejudice."

11. PROFESSOR E. C. NORTON, Claremont, Cal.:

"The stock arguments are that the Japanese have a lower scale of living than the American—that their women work as field laborers—that their families are increasing very rapidly, and the result, if they are allowed to own lands, must be the gradual forcing of Americans out of agriculture and giving the real wealth of the state into alien hands. Some also fear social complications."

12. PROFESSOR W. B. PITKINS, New York, N. Y.:

"They are more intelligent than the people with whom they come into competition; they work harder, live more cheaply, and, above all,

coöperate with such skill that the individualistic, easy-going small American farmer is no match for them."

13. PROFESSOR HERBERT I. PRIESTLEY, Berkeley, Cal.:

"The Japanese people seem to be moving in concert here towards a particular aim, which fact menaces Americans. This is especially true because Japanese citizenship is not given up by those who are born here."

14. PROFESSOR THOMAS H. REED, Berkeley, Cal.:

"I have never heard any serious objection to the Japanese in California or in the United States, except that because of a lower standard of living and a willingness to work very hard they are driving white farmers and other white labor out of certain sections of the state. In my opinion the grievance against the Japanese is due, in part at least, to their good qualities rather than to their bad ones."

15. PRESIDENT RUSH RHEES, Rochester, N. Y.:

"Low standards of living; competition in labor; lack of racial and social assimilativeness; undesirability of mixed education; different moral standards; differences in political conceptions."

16. MR. GALE SEAMAN, Los Angeles, Cal.:

"In my travels I am able to gather opinion as I hear it expressed from many quarters. Bear in mind, please, that in many cases it does not present my personal thought. Many people are feeling that the Japanese, in comparison with Americans, are more industrious and economical, and therefore put Americans, with higher standards of wage and home comforts, at a very great disadvantage. In certain respects the virtues of the Japanese and not their vices cause the trouble. Others say that the Japanese is 'Chauvinistic and is pursuing a policy of peaceful penetration with a view to ultimate control' in important phases of our economic life. That his loyalty is to the Emperor and not to American institutions and that the Japanese is in America for purely selfish reasons and without much regard for the permanent and fundamental interest of the country."

17. MR. WM. T. SESNON, San Francisco, Cal.:

"I was one of the committee that went to Japan last spring and later had occasion to travel over the Orient. What I discovered there in the attitude of all races is so significant that I think the impression should be conveyed to you and your associates for what it is worth. This is done in no desire to offend the sensibilities of your people—quite the contrary, in the highest spirit of friendship. I honestly be-

lieve that the root difficulty is the military and commercial reputation which your nation is gaining throughout the world. However true or false this reputation may be, it naturally plays a large part in such an intense situation as exists in California, and as a sincere friend of your country I would earnestly urge you to address all your energies to the reestablishment of good faith in the mind of the outside world."

18. REVEREND W. B. THORP, Palo Alto, Cal.:

"There are no special grievances against the Japanese, aside from the fact that they are Japanese. Of all our immigrants they are the most inoffensive, law-abiding, industrious, and productive. They occupy and till great areas of our very best irrigated lands, and produce a very large fraction of our farm and garden products. It would be difficult for us to do without them. At the same time these solid colonies of Japanese, with their swarming children, their natural clannishness, their inevitable loyalty to their own nation, create a situation which as patriotic Americans we can not regard with equanimity."

19. MR. JULIUS WANGENHEIM, San Diego, Cal.:

"From the above it will be evident that I think the social objections are the only valid ones. These are based upon the fact that the Japanese, by their superior industry, thrift, and frugality, can overwork and underlive the average American so that in any section where he settles he is almost certain, sooner or later, to drive out the other inhabitants; and this is due to his virtues, not his vices."

ANSWERS TO THE THIRD QUESTION

Question: "How widespread, in your opinion, is the present anti-Japanese sentiment in the United States: does it exist among certain classes, or in certain localities, or is it national?"

1. MR. E. C. BELLOWS, Los Angeles, Cal.:

"Intensely bitter anti-Japanese sentiment is probably confined to the Pacific Coast, being strongest in California; but it has permeated the whole country to some extent."

2. PRESIDENT GEORGE F. BOVARD, Los Angeles, Cal.:

"My opinion is that the present anti-Japanese sentiment is growing throughout the United States. At the present time, however, it is more aggressive in the Pacific Coast states. I believe it to be more largely confined to the labor classes."

3. PRESIDENT OZORA S. DAVIS, Chicago, Ill.:

"There is a widespread opinion in the United States that Japan is the Germany of the Orient and that she secretly cherishes the same ideals concerning world dominion and the 'will to power' that lay behind the pan-German program. I suppose that I have heard the Japanese called the 'Germans of the Orient' scores of times during the last two years. There is no proof accompanying this statement, you understand, but I am sure that it is a very general opinion among the great middle class in this country.

"One of the reasons for this is a prevailing judgment that Japan has displayed the identical ideas and methods in her treatment of Korea and of China, so far as that has been shown, as Germany displayed in her treatment of weaker peoples. It must be quite clear to you that the reports of missionaries concerning conditions in Korea have established a most unfortunate opinion widely in America unfavorable to the justice or the unselfishness of the Japanese policy toward the weaker races."

4. PRESIDENT F. J. GOODNOW, Baltimore, Md.:

"So far as there is any prevalent anti-Japanese feeling in the United States, and my impression is that it is not widespread, I think it is due to the desire of the American people not to do anything which will cause any other race problem to arise. As you know, the negro problem

has been, and is, a very important one and in the minds of a great many people is not even approaching solution. With this experience in mind the American people, I believe, desire, apart from any consideration of racial inferiority or superiority, to avoid doing anything which will raise here a Chinese, a Japanese, or a Hindu problem."

5. DOCTOR W. E. GRIFFIS, Ithaca, N. Y.:

"Very little in the East; very powerful in parts of the Pacific Coast; and especially virulent among aliens or those only partially Americanized."

6. PROFESSOR ARNOLD B. HALL, Madison, Wis.:

"The present anti-Japanese sentiment is nation-wide and particularly strong among the classes who take interest in international affairs. Of course the overwhelming majority of American people take no interest in world matters and have no feeling one way or the other except as it may be due to racial prejudice or to the influence of the press."

7. PROFESSOR H. A. MILLIS, Lawrence, Kan.:

"I may say that to begin with the anti-Japanese sentiment in California was limited pretty much to the working classes with whom the Japanese competed for jobs. Later on, however, it spread to farming communities and among the shopkeepers and tradesmen with whom they competed as they made progress. Of course, the reaction has varied with different temperaments found in a given class, but an anti-Japanese feeling has been pretty general for some years in all classes of Californians other than the larger merchants, bankers, and professional men. Of course, any feeling in communities where there have been very few Japanese is very much less pronounced than on the Pacific Coast, but it has been my observation that there has come to be only a difference in degree."

8. PROFESSOR ROBERT E. PARK, Chicago, Ill.:

"I think the anti-Japanese sentiment is crystallizing throughout the country as a result of the agitation in California, but most intelligent people are still rather vague in regard to the whole matter under discussion and would like to forget it. The masses of the people, outside of California, have no interest in the agitation whatever. But that is possibly because the Japanese outside of California are so small in numbers."

9. PROFESSOR W. B. PITKINS, New York, N. Y.:

"There is no anti-Japanese feeling worthy of mention east of Utah. I have personally investigated it for the past five months and am very

sure of this. The influence of the Hearst newspapers in the East is slight, so far as this matter is concerned. In Washington, we find among army and navy workers a slight trace of genuine anti-Japanese sentiment."

10. PROFESSOR JOHN W. PLATNER, Cambridge, Mass.:

"I think the anti-Japanese sentiment in the United States is largely local. It may be more widespread than I think, but I feel sure that it is based in large part upon ignorant impulse. Where a genuine acquaintance and friendship have been developed between individuals of the two peoples, this feeling tends always to disappear."

11. PROFESSOR THOMAS H. REED, Berkeley, Cal.:

"The anti-Japanese sentiment in the United States is mostly confined to the Pacific Coast. It is most general in the lower ranks of American society and in such organizations as the American Legion. In California it is, as the result of the election shows, very general, and is participated in by all classes in the community. It is most intense here in California among organized labor and among the farmers in those districts in which the Japanese predominate or threaten to predominate."

12. MR. CORIN S. SHANK, Seattle, Wash.:

"I believe the sentiment is largely confined to certain localities, chiefly California, and the radical agitators throughout the country backed up by the Scripp newspapers, and as to these newspapers they do it purely for commercial reasons in their behalf."

13. PROFESSOR G. M. STRATTON, Berkeley, Cal.:

"Not long ago the anti-Japanese sentiment was almost wholly confined to the city artisans of California, particularly of San Francisco; then it spread to several of the rural communities of California; more recently it has affected nearly every class and community of the state, whence it now spreads to the northerly regions of the Pacific Coast.

"To some extent it is also national. Although the Shantung incident has contributed to this national feeling, yet in the main I judge that this feeling is sympathetic and would die if there were no difficulties on the Pacific Coast."

ANSWERS TO THE FOURTH QUESTION

Question: "What would you suggest for a permanent solution of the Japanese problem in California?"

1. MR. E. C. BELLOWS, Los Angeles, Cal.:

"I would suggest that the Federal Government of the United States should take up with the Government of Japan the question and reach a conclusion which would not discriminate against a single race, but should apply to all races alike in the matter of property holding. I do not believe that any alien should own property in the United States. I think there should be a law which would permit them to contract for property when they take out their first papers, and when they have become full-fledged citizens of the United States, it should entitle them to all rights and privileges of the citizens of the United States regardless of their race."

2. PRESIDENT GEORGE F. BOVARD, Los Angeles, Cal.:

"Cessation of Japanese immigration and insistence by the Federal Government on the same treatment of Japanese now here as is accorded all other nationalities seem to be demanded by existing conditions. If present fears can be allayed until time has demonstrated the assimilability of the Japanese, I believe the problem will be solved."

3. MR. ROBERT DOLLAR, San Francisco, Cal.:

"A permanent solution would be, if possible, to eliminate the whole question from politics. This I don't believe can be done; therefore, I don't see any immediate solution of the question."

4. HONORABLE LYMAN J. GAGE, San Diego, Cal.:

"A high joint commission and new treaty."

5. DOCTOR W. E. GRIFFIS, Ithaca, N. Y.:

"Have no recipe for a 'permanent solution' except the spread of the gospel of Jesus Christ, but next to this is the dissemination of facts and information, especially those which reveal the reality, the roots, of each other's civilization, or contributions to humanity's problems, thus leading toward confirming mutual appreciation."

6. PRESIDENT F. J. GOODNOW, Baltimore, Md.:

"The only thing which I can see that will permanently solve such Japanese problem as has arisen is to curtail Japanese immigration into this country."

7. MR. HAMILTON HOLT, New York, N. Y.:

"Treaty between United States and Japan. A treaty in United States supersedes state laws."

8. DOCTOR DAVID STARR JORDAN, Palo Alto, Cal.:

"A treaty restricting immigration more closely, registration of those here, and reasonable terms of naturalization."

9. PRESIDENT HENRY C. KING, Oberlin, Ohio:

"The adoption of Doctor Gulick's plan for immigration and every possible use of friendly intercourse between the nations."

10. PRESIDENT TULLY C. KNOLES, San Jose, Cal.:

"I am not sure that I have the knowledge or the ability to answer question number four. If no more Japanese immigration of the laboring class come to this coast, it seems to me that those who are already citizens and those who shall become citizens by virtue of birth would, through the influence of the American public schools and their observance of the American types of life and ideals, become themselves American, not in the sense that they would lose their nationality, but in the sense that they would appreciate the principles of Americanism. I, furthermore, believe that intermarriage between the Japanese and the white race could only solve the problem in California, provided such marriages were contracted within the state, now impossible under existing laws; and that homes should be established on the American plan rather than upon the Japanese plan."

11. MR. LEON G. LEVY, San Francisco, Cal.:

"The most important factor for a permanent solution of the Japanese problem in California will be a check to Japanese immigration. Efforts should be made to prevent further concentration of the Japanese now here. The policy of educating young children in Japanese schools and thereby fostering their loyalty to Japanese ideals should be abandoned, if these children are ever to become Americanized."

12. PROFESSOR ROY MALCOM, Los Angeles, Cal.:

"A more strict immigration law and then a very thorough investigation of the problem in all its phases by, if possible, an impartial commission might solve the problem."

13. PROFESSOR H. A. MILLIS, Lawrence, Kan.:

"As regards question four I feel that there is no permanent solution of the situation to be found in anything except a very narrowly limited immigration of Japanese and time. My opinion is that the Gentlemen's Agreement has been lived up to by Japan and that it has been very effective, but almost everybody in California feels otherwise. Hence the demand for exclusion by law. Just how this widespread but mistaken feeling could be overcome I do not know."

14. MR. W. N. MOORE, San Francisco, Cal.:

"It is my judgment that no permanent solution of the Japanese problem in America can be had except as the result of negotiations between our National Government and that of Japan, which will result in the utter exclusion of all Japanese of the laboring class. The problem has too long been regarded as a local one, and I think it is a matter of regret that it has not sooner had the attention of our National Government, the facts faced and dealt with frankly, as now seems to be the case. When the people of California have come to realize that further immigration of Japanese will not occur; that the problems will not grow greater, then there will come a reaction from existing sentiment and the Japanese now legally here will be accorded their full rights and will be treated with all of the kindness which they may individually deserve."

15. REVEREND U. G. MURPHY, Seattle, Wash.:

"Extending privilege of citizenship to all aliens on the same basis. The Japanese agitation will never subside until this is done. On Japan's part there should be embodying principles of the Gentlemen's Agreement in treaty form. And then, time should be given for the Japanese in America to readjust themselves and for Americans to get accustomed to persons of a nonwhite race who are the equals of white people."

16. PROFESSOR E. C. NORTON, Claremont, Cal.:

"I have desired laws regulating immigration that should be applicable to all nations and should make no invidious distinctions. For that reason I have hoped for something along the line of the Gulick plan. I feel that large immigration from either East or West would be unfortunate for us as a people."

17. PROFESSOR ROBERT E. PARK, Chicago, Ill.:

"Competition between Japan and the United States, with a certain amount of irritation on both sides, is inevitable. However, Japan is more likely than the United States to profit by a quarrel in which the issue is one of race discrimination. If the people of California realized

this fact it might considerably modify their attitude towards the present agitation. But the Japanese problem is a race problem; race problems are rooted in human nature; human nature changes to be sure, but changes very slowly. First of all it is important to recognize the facts. Race prejudice does exist. Just how this prejudice can be modified is a matter of which we know as yet too little. The experiences of groups of individuals who are now seeking to change racial prejudices in the communities in which they live are our only sources of information. What these experiences are the Japanese society knows better than anyone else."

18. REVEREND C. C. PIERCE, Los Angeles, Cal.:

"Invest the Japanese with full citizenship as soon as they will receive it, and treat them precisely as we do all other foreigners. If this can not be done, then Japan ought to maintain that the Japanese are here in accordance with the treaty arrangements, and that under our Constitution they have a right to demand protection and a fair deal. Japan ought to demand this of the United States, and insist upon seeing that it is done to the limit.

"On this point, Japan ought to maintain that all this question with some minor exceptions must be adjusted by the two central Governments, and that the Japanese nation will stand for the full rights and privileges which the Constitution of the United States, and our treaty agreements, guarantee to aliens."

19. PROFESSOR W. B. PITKINS, New York, N. Y.:

"A very hard query to answer adequately. I believe we ought to make some international arrangements whereby Japanese could be assured of a free outlet in Siberia, Mexico, and South America, where they should go with full rights of acquiring new citizenship and under such circumstances as would forestall the suspicion that they were being used by the Japanese Government to found political colonies."

20. PROFESSOR THOMAS H. REED, Berkeley, Cal.:

"I believe that the only solution of the problem is to prevent the immigration of all Japanese except merchants and students; in other words, the prohibition of all persons who are likely to become permanent residents. On the other hand, I believe that the Japanese already here should be treated fairly and equally as compared with immigrants of other origin."

21. REVEREND JOHN TIMOTHY STONE, Chicago, Ill.:

"I would answer by the words patience, sanity, and the overlooking of some minor conditions."

22. PROFESSOR G. M. STRATTON, Berkeley, Cal.:

"The permanent solution seems to me to lie in an agreement between the Governments of the United States and Japan whereby the number of Japanese now in the United States and particularly on the Pacific Coast should not increase, but should if possible decrease. In estimating the number, those born of Japanese parents in this country should be added to the immigrants, and this total should not increase. So long as there is ground for agitation, American-born Japanese will not be regarded as essentially different from those born in Japan.

"The land question and the question of citizenship will, I think, cease to be vital issues when once an increase in Japanese population is no longer feared.

"But any agreement should be reciprocal; it should apply to Americans in Japan no less than to Japanese in America. This will prevent the feeling that the action is based on any assumption of racial superiority or inferiority."

23. PROFESSOR SHERMAN D. THATCHER, Ojai, Cal.:

"For a permanent solution of the Japanese problem it seems to me that the two races ought to learn to respect each other for the good qualities which certainly exist in both, and that this might be accomplished by removing the causes of irritation. I do not see how this can be done except by strictly limiting the immigration of the Japanese; by strictly limiting their rights to the ownership of land and to leasing rights in land; and by not permitting the children of Japanese parents to become naturalized American citizens, any more than Americans should become naturalized citizens in Japan. I feel sure that mutual respect and kindly feeling can be developed only if the causes of irritation and dislike—which we now see developing and which I believe are a necessary accompaniment of crowding together of people of such very different racial characteristics—are removed completely or reduced to a point which suggests no anxieties or apprehensions for the future."

24. REVEREND W. B. THORP, Palo Alto, Cal.:

"The only permanent solution of the problem in California involves the practical cessation of Japanese immigration. It is not good for widely different racial types to dwell in large numbers side by side in the same country. Human nature being what it is, it makes for strife and not for peace. A genuine community integration becomes impossible. It is more brotherly and Christian to anticipate these conditions and provide against them than it is to run blindly into them just because we will not recognize the facts.

“In regard to Japanese who are already here, my personal view is that there should be no discriminatory legislation against them in any way. I would admit them to citizenship on the same terms as others. California, debarred by our Federal Constitution from taking the matter of exclusion into her own hands, is expressing her sentiments by seeking to harass the Japanese with adverse legislation. It is a bad method, for nothing but evil to both parties can ever come from injustice.”

25. JULIUS WANGENHEIM, San Diego, Cal.:

“I believe in some such solution as that outlined by Doctor Gulick, whereby a limitation is placed on future immigration proportionate to that of a number of years past, and applied to all nationalities alike. This would practically exclude the Japanese, but would mean no humiliating discrimination against them.”

ANSWERS TO THE FIFTH QUESTION

Question: "What are the grounds of suspicion of Japan now prevalent and widespread in the United States?"

1. MR. E. C. BELLOWS, Los Angeles, Cal.:

"Japan's recent assumption of the status of a world power has aroused in this nation a consciousness of her ability to do harm, and while the people are not yet assured of her good intentions, they are watchful and suspicious because they do not know, and not knowing, they fear the worst."

2. PRESIDENT GEORGE F. BOVARD, Los Angeles, Cal.:

"I do not believe there are any grounds for the suspicion of Japanese which is now prevalent and widespread in the United States. The yellow journals of the country would have us believe that the Japanese in this country are largely spies who are making maps looking forward to the time when Japan will engage in war with us. I do not think there are any grounds for such suspicion."

3. PROFESSOR WM. ADAMS BROWN, New York, N. Y.:

"In general I may say that it is the belief of many responsible people in this country that in spite of the professions of the Japanese Government of loyalty to democratic principles and fair-play, they are really under the sway of the military party and that they have been acting in such a way as to cause uncertainty and unrest in the Far East."

4. PROFESSOR CHARLES H. COOLEY, Ann Arbor, Mich.:

"I see nothing to cause serious suspicion in Japan's national policy, so far as revealed, and believe that most intelligent Americans do not. Many, however, believe that she will try to force immigrants upon us, or to colonize in Mexico, or to dominate China to our detriment. It should be remembered that there is great freedom of expression in America and that our best friends—for example, England—are suspected and decried by certain elements."

5. MR. ROBERT DOLLAR, San Francisco, Cal.:

"Suspicion of the Japanese throughout the United States is caused primarily, I think, in the action of the Japanese in China, caused principally by the 'Twenty-one Demands' and latterly on account of the taking over of Shantung."

6. REVEREND SILAS EVANS, San Diego, Cal.:

"In general I must confess considerable ignorance about the sentiment of the state, but I fear in California there is a great deal of demonstration and propaganda that is anti-Japanese, not to speak of considerable very sincere conviction that there is a real menace as they call it, because of obvious differences in types of peoples. I do not believe that this should be interpreted as a reflection upon Japan entirely, as though there was an inferiority. In fact, some of the traits which are feared are traits which argue superiority."

7. DOCTOR W. E. GRIFFIS, Ithaca, N. Y.:

"The grounds of suspicion 'are mutual'; each has motes and beams in each other's eyes. The only way to keep the real truth constantly before each nation is by friendly discussion, debate, publicity."

8. PROFESSOR ARNOLD B. HALL, Madison, Wis.:

"As I understand public opinion in America, the grounds of suspicion against Japan are first that many of our people are of the opinion that Japan's foreign policy is dominated by imperialistic motives and to a very aggressive degree. As an evidence of this I would cite the recent demands upon China and general Japanese conduct in the Far East, which many believe to be inconsistent with their professed allegiance to the principle of the 'open door.' The American people have great confidence in the organizing genius of the Japanese. They feel that if Japanese policies were allowed to mature, it would mean that ultimately China with her vast resources of men and wealth would come under Japanese domination; that they would be organized into a great imperialistic power and that they would thus menace, not only the principle of Chinese integrity and the 'open door' to which America is devoted, but they might become a menace to all legitimate interests in the Orient. A great many people also fear Japanese aggression in the Philippines, although I think that fear is slowly disappearing."

9. PRESIDENT H. P. JUDSON, Chicago, Ill.:

"There is, I think, an opinion among many of our people that Japan is becoming imbued more or less with German ideas and ideals of expansion by physical force. This opinion is strengthened by what were believed to be the Japanese policies with regard to China as notably evidenced by her dealings with regard to Peking some years ago and by the attitude toward the Shantung question. It is believed that there are forces at work in Japan which are sources of apprehension to us, just as the current military and political forces in Germany were a

source of apprehension to us at the outbreak of the great war. How far these opinions are justified you are much better prepared to say than I. That the opinions are held and are widely held is true."

10. PROFESSOR ROY MALCOM, Los Angeles, Cal.:

"The grounds are reported to be militarism, colonizing schemes in the Occident, and 'Mastery of the Pacific.'"

11. MR. W. N. MOORE, San Francisco, Cal.:

"The change of sentiment in the United States toward Japan since the days of the Japanese-Russian war, when Americans generally championed the cause of another race against people of our own, is amazing and I cannot account for it only on the ground that Japan has created for herself a reputation, deserved or undeserved, for military aggressiveness and unfair international dealings. Those matters most frequently and unfavorably referred to by Americans are: her attitude toward China in the Shantung and other matters; her treatment of Korea; and her recent military operations in Siberia."

12. REVEREND U. G. MURPHY, Seattle, Wash.:

"Some of the reasons are language schools, congregating in one section, treatment of Koreans, and a few other minor matters. But the chief ground is that the Japanese are not white, something they can not remedy."

13. PRESIDENT S. B. L. PENROSE, Walla Walla, Wash.:

"A good deal of distrust of Japan has arisen in many quarters of the United States due to the inscrutableness of the Japanese face, the alleged differences of Japanese psychology, and a vague sense of distrust concerning the political and economical ambitions of the Japanese Empire."

14. PROFESSOR JOHN W. PLATNER, Cambridge, Mass.:

"As to the grounds of suspicion of Japan now widespread in the United States, I think they are in considerable part due to distrust in this country of what the Japanese military and imperial party may do in influencing the foreign policy of the Japanese Government. If we could be assured that this party is in the minority, and that the great mass of the Japanese people are steadfastly opposed to it, I think much of the suspicion of Japan in this country would disappear."

15. PROFESSOR THOMAS H. REED, Berkeley, Cal.:

"There is, among students of international affairs, a general suspicion of Japan's imperialistic policy on the continent of Asia, a policy

which may very conceivably interfere with America's interests in the Far East. There is no telling how far Japan may go or to what extent success may inflate her self-esteem and render her dangerous as Germany was dangerous from excess of pride."

16. PROFESSOR ALBION W. SMALL, Chicago, Ill.:

"On question five, I can only say that as I see it the grounds of suspicion to which you refer are principally the creation of different sorts of mischief makers, some of them in this country and some of them in Japan, who, for reasons which are not altogether intelligible to me, have been doing their best to stir up prejudice. These agitations are unfortunate and dangerous, and the best people in the United States are indignant over them."

17. PROFESSOR SHERMAN D. THACHER, Ojai, Cal.:

"I think the Japanese are suspected of coming to this country simply to get what they can in comforts and wealth and not with the idea of loyal devotion to American standards and American government, but that they retain always a devoted loyalty and adherence to their own country. I think there is almost no confidence felt among Americans that in case of war between Japan and America the Japanese would be loyal to this country. I think there is some suspicion that the Japanese have acted as spies and have assisted in making maps and securing all sorts of information that might be of value to Japan in case of war. The very fact that the Japanese keep their own language, which very few Americans can understand, develops the suspicion that they may perhaps be plotting and planning for some advantage of their own people or their own government. This, no doubt, is often unjust, but I think the suspicion is there and that it is not altogether unnatural."

18. MR. JULIUS WANGENHEIM, San Diego, Cal.:

"A deep-seated feeling (or prejudice, if you prefer) against the Japanese must be admitted. And, such feeling existing, any act or attitude is apt to be perverted and distorted into seeming antagonism. What would pass unnoticed on the part of any other nation is apt to be made a matter of aggrievement if done by Japan."

ANSWERS TO THE SIXTH QUESTION

Question: "What do the people of the United States require of Japan in maintaining the historical friendship between the two nations?"

1. MR. E. C. BELLOWS, Los Angeles, Cal.:

"Consistent and long-continued evidences of friendship, unmarred by exhibitions of an aggressive, imperialistic spirit will undoubtedly re-establish the cordial friendship which now seems threatened. Time for the effects of a vicious propaganda to wear out is an essential element."

2. DOCTOR FRANCIS E. CLARK, Boston, Mass.:

"The only just requirement is to live up to the Gentlemen's Agreement, which I believe the Japanese Government strictly adheres to."

3. PROFESSOR CHARLES H. COOLEY, Ann Arbor, Mich.:

"I should say that a candid recognition of the reasons that make it impossible for us to welcome immigration, and patience with the local irritability in California (over which the rest of America has no control), are all we can ask, and will, I feel sure, be sufficient, in connection with the effects of intelligent Americans, to preserve the historical friendship."

4. HONORABLE LYMAN J. GAGE, San Diego, Cal.:

"There are no just suspicions—imagination only. Probably a friendly understanding which will restrict by agreement immigration into the United States of Asiatics. This, with a better acquaintance with the people of Japan, would lead to mutual confidence, mutual response, and mutual good will.

"In my opinion the two nations ought to be coöperative and friendly in their attitude and ambitions, especially so toward China and Asia, wherein both countries can do much for the development of civilization and industrial development to the great advantage of all."

5. PROFESSOR FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS, New York, N. Y.:

"Recognition of the undeniable sociological fact that a democratic republic can be maintained only if the population is on the whole homogeneous. A population too heterogeneous must inevitably fall into political and social anarchy or avail itself of the strong arm of a despotism. Therefore, a democratic republic must hold itself free to

say what the composition of its people shall be, or to what extent amalgamation shall be permitted.

“Recognition that races absolutely equal in character, intelligence, and culture may nevertheless be so far unlike that masses of voters, failing to discriminate between unlikeness and inequality, may surrender themselves to race prejudice; and that a government seeking to avoid so unfortunate an occurrence should not be presumed to be unwilling to treat all races equally.”

6. PRESIDENT F. J. GOODNOW, Baltimore, Md.:

“If Japan would adopt a policy of further curtailing the emigration of Japanese to the United States and would modify its Korean and Chinese policy in the direction of according greater consideration to the Chinese and the Koreans I think there would be no difficulty in maintaining the historical friendship between the two nations.”

7. PRESIDENT E. L. HARDY, San Diego, Cal.:

“Explicit and effective action by Japan for the purpose of preventing a conflict that is very probable if two different races and social economic systems attempt to occupy the same territory at the same time. In other words, Japan should withdraw her people, to the greatest possible extent, from American (United States) territory. This implies, of course, a similar policy on the part of the United States toward Japan and Asia, and, perhaps, the internationalizing of control of the Pacific islands.”

8. REVEREND HERBERT C. IDE, Redlands, Cal.:

“Japan is to some degree made the scapegoat of narrow nationalism and yellow journalism in America. All sorts of appeals to hate and prejudice are being made by people and papers who like to stir things up. But beyond this, which we deplore, there is a real fear of Asiatics—including Japanese—crowding the whites bordering on the Pacific. With the present temper of our people, I regretfully conclude Japanese immigration should stop, except for educational or temporary purposes.”

9. PRESIDENT HENRY C. KING, Oberlin, Ohio:

“I think the people of the United States would be glad to see on Japan's part a recognition of the real difficulty involved in the problem of the standard of living; rebuke of the Prussian military tendency and spirit in Japan; and some lessening of the intensity of her nationalism.”

10. MR. D. P. KINGSLEY, New York, N. Y.:

“Cessation of all immigration of laborers including picture-brides. Surrender of Shantung and Hankow, together with a changed attitude

toward Asia generally. Outside the matter of immigration we do not 'require' these things, but a continuance of Japan's present program in Asia will leave her motives open to suspicion."

11. PRESIDENT TULLY C. KNOLES, San Jose, Cal.:

"As far as I am able to speak, my opinion is that the people of the United States would have greater confidence in Japan were she to remove what I have mentioned in answering question five—the two most important bases of suspicion, namely, the control of Shantung and the military administration of Korea. Without doubt Japanese industry and commerce are so superior to those of China and Korea, and the Japanese understanding of modern trade, banking, and credit systems so superior to those of other countries of the East, that Japan could secure all necessary expansion through trade relations without extra-territoriality and without the maintenance of such strict military administration.

"In other words, the Japanese sphere of influence should be represented by the old German method of peaceful penetration rather than by the late German idea of military conquest."

12. REVEREND MARK A. MATHEWS, Seattle, Wash.:

"Keep all the terms of the agreement and live closer to each other and work for each other's welfare."

13. MR. W. N. MOORE, San Francisco, Cal.:

"I hold no brief that would entitle me to speak for the people of the United States on any matter, and I hesitate to speak at all on the delicate and important subject involved in your sixth question. However, as the result of an extended tour and close observation through Korea, Manchuria, China, and the Philippine Islands after my visit to Japan this year, I gained impressions which lead me to the conclusion that, as a nation, Japan has suffered in reputation and sympathy by her more recent acts in the estimation of other peoples of the world than those of the United States. My cure would be: less reference to war, a cessation of 'saber rattling,' more kindly treatment of her neighbors and dependents, and an appeal to reason and friendship rather than to force. May I presume to add, that she would create a more favorable opinion on visiting foreigners if she would remove from the heads of her small sons the German military caps which they wear so universally and conspicuously."

14. DOCTOR JOHN R. MOTT, New York, N. Y.:

"The leaders of both races in all important walks of life—student life, industrial life, commercial life, etc.—must continue to keep in

close, intelligent, sympathetic touch with each other through visits, correspondence, and interchange of information."

15. REVEREND U. G. MURPHY, Seattle, Wash.:

"It is very difficult to suggest anything that Japan should do that is not being done now. The obligation is very nearly all the other way. America must learn to live up to her own traditions and principles, and manage somehow to prevent any section of the United States legislating for the whole nation. Japan's best course is to go along as at present, having patience with America, as America has had to have patience with other nations. A more humane treatment of the Koreans would, however, placate church circles very much and react favorably on the whole Japanese situation."

16. PROFESSOR E. A. ROSS, Madison, Wis.:

"If immigration from Japan can be confined to very narrow proportions and the Californians feel secure for the future, it will not be difficult to remove all discriminations against the Japanese now here."

17. MR. CORIN S. SHANK, Seattle, Wash.:

"The least agitation of this question by both countries at the present time, for by this agitation both the United States and Japan can make a mountain out of a mole-hill; therefore, I should say that both countries quit agitating the subject."

18. PROFESSOR ALBION W. SMALL, Chicago, Ill.:

"On question six I must continue to distinguish between the people of California and those of the United States in general. The matter, so far as my acquaintance goes, and I am traveling back and forth between the Mississippi and the Atlantic Coast a good deal, and have many acquaintances all through that section, want nothing of Japan except the matter-of-course amenities which we are doing our best to observe with all the other nations of the world. We do not believe it would be wise for Americans to try to push themselves into Japan in such numbers as to create there a problem of assimilation, and for corresponding reasons we do not think it would be wise for the Japanese to migrate to this country in sufficient numbers to create a parallel problem. Our cultures are so different that in the present state of racial consciousness all over the world such mechanical mixtures could not prove fortunate. It seems to me that the leading people in the two countries are bound to see their common interests in doing everything to prevent issues of this sort from arising."

19. PROFESSOR G. M. STRATTON, Berkeley, Cal.:

"It is difficult to say what our people require of Japan without

seeming to imply that we are without fault. Doubtless each nation wishes that its neighbors shall be more nearly perfect than this nation itself is ready to be. Americans hardly are aware how desirous of power they appear to anyone viewing them from without. Nor are they fully aware of the difficulties that beset the Japanese national life.

"But in general our relations will be helped by Japan's patience with America and by an appreciation that what California proposes (although done without delicacy and with no careful respect for Japanese sensibilities) is at the bottom a natural social reaction to be expected where in large numbers races that are markedly different meet on a common soil.

"And Americans, with all their own faults, would be fired to admiration and sympathy by a display, on the part of the Japanese, of self-restraint and justice amounting even to generosity toward her neighbors. We should like to feel that Japan, in her desire of territory for expansion, would use first and foremost the means of fair purchase or of honorable and open negotiation, and would never use war or other methods of compulsion.

"America herself has not lived according to her own light; but her deepest spirit is appreciative of others who will use in international life the principles of common justice. A cordial support and strengthening of the League of Nations in its effort to promote mutual respect and confidence instead of mutual suspicion will help greatly—indeed will help as nothing else, in the end—the relations between our countries. It is greatly to be hoped that America will herself soon heartily enter the League of Nations."

20. REVEREND W. B. THORP, Palo Alto, Cal.:

"Permanent peace and friendship with the United States will require of Japan: hearty coöperation in preventing further emigration of her people to America; the success of the democratic movement in Japan, which would mean a radical change in her constitution; and frankness and straightforwardness in her diplomacy."

21. MR. JULIUS WANGENHEIM, San Diego, Cal.:

"The attitude of America is reflected in large measure by the jingoes of Japan. The yellow press in both countries is responsible for the present attitude. Only an enlightened public opinion can correct the present misunderstanding, and that, for the time, I fear, is unlikely."

22. PRESIDENT H. N. WRIGHT, Whittier, Cal.:

"An unselfish international policy. A nonmilitaristic government. And we should maintain the same."

ANSWERS BY WALLACE M. ALEXANDER

President of Alexander & Baldwin, Ltd.

San Francisco, Cal.

1. I consider the economic reason the most cogent as regards the present anti-Japanese agitation in California. On account of the white man not being able to compete with the Japanese laborer in our state, considerable bitterness has been engendered, especially as the Japanese is willing to work much longer hours and is content to subsist on a lower scale of living, that is, he is satisfied to live in what is termed a "shack"; live on cheaper forms of food and is accustomed to have his wife work with him in the fields. There is, undoubtedly, also some racial antipathy based on the fact that Japanese civilization and ours is so radically dissimilar and that the position of woman is so different in your country than it is in the United States.

2. I visited the town of Florin early this year before taking my trip to Japan, in order to get, first-hand, some light on the objections to the Japanese. I found the prevailing answer, in reply to my inquiries, was that the Japanese and the white residents of Florin had nothing in common. It is, perhaps, too much to expect that two races so divergent in their antecedents and methods of thought can be brought very closely together, at least in one generation. This statement, to a certain extent, answers your second inquiry as to some of the more important objections or grievances against the Japanese in California and the United States.

The complaint is made that when the Japanese take leases of land they bring about a situation by taking everything they can out of the land and putting nothing into it, that finally ends in their becoming owners of the land. This is probably one of the reasons that has led to the clause in Amendment No. 1, preventing them from leasing land, even on a three-year basis.

The statement is also made that the Japanese only desire to trade among their own people and that Japanese stores take away the trade from United States citizens who are also in the store business.

There is also a prevalent opinion among many of the people who deal with Japanese that they are rather unscrupulous in their business relations; that they will take advantage, if the opportunity offers, to violate a contract. Also, that they will take advantage of a situation where the farmer has his fruit crop ready to harvest and labor is scarce to band together and force the farmer to pay the very topmost prices

in order to harvest his crop. I would say in this connection, however, that these faults are common to all people and that the American farmer is not in a position to "throw stones."

3. In reply to your third question: I beg to say that I have not had much of an opportunity of judging this situation outside of California. There is no doubt that the militaristic attitude taken by the Japanese in China, Korea, and Siberia has caused a feeling of suspicion and antagonism that is quite permanent and widespread in our country. The Twenty-one Demands which were forced on China and the cruelties perpetrated in Korea have been given wide exploitation by the press, and the general feeling is that Japan is out for Japan alone in Asia and that she will take any means possible to gain her ends, regardless of the best interests of the other nations.

I took occasion, when I was recently in Japan, to advise some of my Japanese friends that the German imperialistic methods used by the military on the Asiatic mainland would surely have its effect on the young men of the United States who were sent to Siberia to fight, in conjunction with Japan and the other nations, against the Bolshevik armies. What I said at that time has been fully confirmed by the position taken by the American Legion in this country whenever the Japanese question has been brought up. The American soldier has returned to the United States imbued with a dislike and antagonism to your military methods; he has only come in contact with this phase of Japanese life and accepts it as typical of your whole nation, and he is telling all his relatives, friends, and associates in this country what he thinks of your country. These young men are not newspaper reporters or outsiders; they have the entire confidence of their countrymen as they have no ulterior motives in making the statements that they do, and I would attribute the feeling against Japan throughout the United States due more to this cause than to any other.

4. You ask what I would suggest for a permanent solution of the Japanese problem in California. First of all, it would be necessary to assure the people of this state that the Japanese immigration of the laboring class to this country will be absolutely stopped. The people can not understand why the Japanese population in California has increased so rapidly. They ask, if the "Gentlemen's Agreement" has been carried out by the Japanese Government, why is it that we have approximately one hundred thousand Japanese in California at the present time. It is my personal opinion that your Government has acted entirely fair in this matter, but I cannot help feeling that some of your associations and emigration companies have found ways and means of getting Japanese into California over the Mexican and Canadian borders.

5. Speaking very frankly in regard to one of the most potent reasons for the anti-Japanese sentiment in the United States, I must mention the commercial reason, namely, that there is a widespread feeling in the United States that in dealing with business houses, outside of some of the most prominent and representative firms in Japan, the greatest precautions have to be taken against receiving inferior goods. For example: I am told that every separate article, even to the buttons on the cards, has to be examined very carefully before shipping any goods purchased in your country, on the steamers for export to the United States. In San Francisco, where my firm purchases goods from the mercantile houses, no examination of this kind is ever required and it is my strong opinion that if Japan is ever to take her place among the nations of the earth, a higher standard of commercial integrity must be observed by her merchants. In saying this, I am fully alive to the fact that our merchants are unfortunately not all above indulging in sharp business practices at times.

There is also a prevalent feeling that if injustice is done the American merchant in Japan, there is no recourse in your courts, and that it will be cheaper for him to stand the loss rather than go to law in your courts.

During my last visit in Japan I spoke of an arbitration committee being formed by your Chamber of Commerce from among the foremost merchants of your country to pass on questions in dispute between foreign and Japanese merchants. I understand that nothing yet has been done in this connection and I strongly urge that the matter be taken up, if one of the most vital causes for irritation and ill-feeling between your country and mine is to be eliminated. Similar arbitration boards could be formed by the Chamber of Commerce on this side of the water.

6. To your last inquiry: First: My reply must be a summing up of what I have already said. I have spoken of the shutting down of the emigration of Japanese laborers from Japan to this country. This is one of the requirements.

Second: The assurance that Japan, in acquiring territory and influence on the mainland of Asia, will not take advantage of her military strength to exploit these countries to her own advantage. Personally, I feel that it is to Japan's own interest, as well as to the interests of China, Korea, and Siberia, to treat the people there with fairness and justice; in other words, to observe the Golden Rule.

Third: I would repeat what I have said in regard to the establishment of a higher order of commercial integrity in Japan, in preserving the friendship of our country.

I have given you very frankly my views in reply to your letter, and I trust you will accept them in the spirit in which they were tendered.

ANSWERS BY DAVID P. BARROWS

President, University of California,
Berkeley, Cal.

1 and 2. I think the first two questions may be answered together. I think that anti-Japanese feeling in California at the present time centers around prejudice to the acquisition by the Japanese of farming lands. There is a widespread concern in America, particularly Western America, over our rural problem. The last census shows that we are fifty-one per cent an urban population. It shows, too, that American families are not remaining on the farms. In this state, considerable sections of farming land are in the possession of immigrant colonies. Where these colonists come from Europe, the American expectation is to Americanize and assimilate them, although in some cases it is difficult. In the case of the Japanese communities in the state, there does not seem to prevail the expectation that they will Americanize and assimilate, but rather that they will remain foreign agricultural communities within our commonwealth. In the last few years hundreds of thousands of Americans have gained a first-hand knowledge of Europe, and, I think, have been immensely impressed with the strength of France and other European countries, due to the peasantry owning their little farms and being deeply attached to the soil. This experience has increased our own disquiet with respect to our rural life.

Personally, I share these views. I think it imperative for America, and particularly for California, to hold in the hands of American families the ownership and tillage of the land. I would myself go so far as to forbid alien ownership of farming land, *irrespective of eligibility to citizenship*. I think the present feeling against the Japanese in the state arises out of this condition. I think it is enhanced by the efforts of the Japanese Government to defeat the intention of the people of California in this respect. I think that an improvement of relations must rest, first and foremost, upon a recognition by the Japanese Government that California has the right to determine how her lands shall be held and owned. Of course, the rights of all Japanese here must be fully recognized. I should wish to see their *ownership and holdings of the soil liquidated*, but I would wish it liquidated so that there would be no charge of financial injustice.

Under present conditions, the communities of Japanese people in this state are quite like the American communities in Japan, except

that they are much more numerous. The Japanese Government properly follows a policy that would prevent Americans from acquiring Japanese land interests, mining rights, oil rights, fisheries rights, etc. These essentials for the Japanese people, Americans cannot and should not expect to acquire in Japan, and I think that the American Government would do very wrong to use diplomatic methods and other propaganda methods to compel Japan to cede these rights to Americans. Why, then, should Japan use all of these methods here?

I think it is generally felt that the Japanese will not readily or naturally become American, as does the citizen of Europe. He is too devoted to his own country, too proud of his own race and its achievements; he does not detach himself from fidelity and interest to his own land. These qualities are all creditable to the Japanese, in my opinion, but they make the question of his assimilation here or citizenship here difficult and unpromising. I think there is widespread recognition in this state of Japanese worth. Your people are everywhere recognized as industrious, law-abiding, and self-respecting. They have contributed to the economic development of the state greatly, and the accumulations which they have made out of the rich opportunities of this state they doubtless deserve, and I doubt if anyone begrudges them.

5. As to question five, I think the feeling of suspicion toward Japan, which is prevalent in this country now, is due to Japan's policy generally since 1905, and particularly during the war. I think it is felt that Japan was not a good ally; that she was close to an understanding with Germany; that she expected a German victory or desired it, and did not for her own interests desire an allied and American triumph; that she used the bitter distress of the war to push a policy in Asia, which is repugnant to the American sense of justice; and that she clings to every unjustly acquired advantage there with a tenacity and selfishness which do not command America's confidence. As you know, I had a year's experience in Mongolia, Manchuria, and Siberia, and was brought in close contact with the efforts of the political and military representatives of Japan in that part of the world, and the experience was not reassuring to me as to Japan's purposes.

6. As to question six, I think the fundamental thing is the recognition by the Japanese Government that the people of the United States have the same right to solve their domestic questions that the American people accord Japan.

ANSWERS BY JAMES A. BLAISDELL

President, Pomona College
Claremont, Cal.

1. Replying to your first question as to the principal reasons of the present agitation, let me say that I have long believed that the differences are wholly economic in their origin. So far as I am able to discern by somewhat careful inquiry, there is practically no biological antipathy. It is important, however, that the essential biological race reaction should be carefully differentiated from the habits of life and society which are characteristic of the different races. Even in the matter of marriage, I am convinced that a careful analysis shows that the antipathy, where it exists, is a reaction against the mingling with somewhat widely divergent habits of home and family rather than to any real racial antipathy. I presume that there are some cases where there is a biological reaction, but my conviction is that it is not general nor serious.

I say again, therefore, that in my judgment, the difference is primarily economic; but it is characteristic of all economic differences that they hang themselves on certain pegs, and the differences of physiognomy in the two races and the natural tendencies of the races to segregate furnish an easy opportunity for crystallizing the economic antagonism. I am well aware that many divergent opinions have been expressed in the matter. I have read and studied them with great care, and I believe the above to be an accurate and discriminating and completely frank representation.

2. Regarding your second question, the most important objection which is raised against the Japanese situated in California is that, as a class, they introduce competition on a lower standard of living than Americans feel justified in accepting for their own families. This operates to drive out American competition in the lines which Japanese enter. To my mind, there is much justification of the Japanese in this matter. At the same time, I discovered in Japan that there was precisely the same opposition to the incoming of the Chinese. Where any foreign race comes in, in large numbers, into another country and appropriates the lands, there is inevitably a human reaction. The problem thus raised touches the very bottom of the economic situation, and in my judgment can only be met by the development of interracial

courts and international thinking. This must inevitably take a long time.

3. In my opinion, the anti-Japanese sentiment is among certain classes and in certain localities. There is, on the other hand, a very warm and genuine friendship on the part of a great multitude of Americans for their Japanese friends.

4. In regard to a permanent solution, it has seemed to me that we must be patient with human nature to the utmost of our ability and, to that end, so far as possible, there should be a diminution of the immigration and that every country so receiving immigrants should see that they are scattered in such limited numbers as to prevent the formation of alien settlements of large size. Foreigners going to any country should expect to expose themselves to the life and habits of that country and to yield as graciously as possible to that natural sentiment which makes every people conservative about the introduction of foreign changes.

5. My friendship for Japan and the Japanese is so well known that I think you will not misunderstand me when I say that there is a widespread belief that the military element is completely in control of the Japanese Government and that this element is underhanded and aggressive. All foreigners going to Japan are made to feel this. When in Japan, I was constantly stopped and examined by plain-clothes men who demanded my business and who watched me with a detail which was most distressing. I can quite understand the arguments which have led Japan to maintain its hold upon Shantung, but I believe that this and the Siberian program have been administered in a way to make America distrustful of the present forces which actually control in Japan.

6. The question which you raise is most gracious. I am confident that there is a wide admiration for Japan in America. Frankness and friendliness on the part of the Government in Japan would go farther than anything else to disarm American criticism. There must also be on both sides an unfailing and persistent patience. I am taking every opportunity to urge this necessity on my American fellow-citizens. It is probably true that both nations will need more of this noble virtue.

In this whole matter, we should, of course, remember that we are all descended from people who counted that a foreigner is, ipso facto, an enemy. This is a prejudice which will only slowly be outgrown in the masses of humanity. In passing down the streets of Japanese cities, I have been insulted by crowds of boys. I thought nothing of this because I recognized in it this trait of our universal human nature which can be eradicated only by the processes of evolution. That this trait

persists too generally is obvious, and that it is easily called into evidence is probably what we must expect. In the midst of such a situation, there will be a certain growing company of men who will stand above the waves of hysteria and who will keep their faith in the better day of a universal human brotherhood. I recognize in the gentlemen, whom you mention as associated with you, a company of such fore-

ANSWERS BY T. N. CARVER

Professor of Economics, Harvard University
Cambridge, Mass.

1. First, I think there are two principal reasons for the anti-Japanese agitations in California: (1) The economic competition between the Japanese workers and native workers. You will notice that the agitation does not proceed from the employing class or from any class of Americans who do not compete directly with the Japanese. It is confined almost entirely to those who have to bear the brunt of the competition. (2) The agitation is intensified by race prejudice. This does not mean that there is more prejudice against the Japanese than against any other race. The same prejudice would exist and the same hostility would develop no matter what the other race might be, if there was direct economic competition. I do not know of any place in the world where members of two distinct races compete with one another economically without developing a certain amount of hostility.

2. I know of no objections or grievances except those included in my answer to question one. Grievances can always be invented where there is race hostility combined with economic competition. If a few thousand American laborers went into Japan and began competing with Japanese laborers, the same hostility would develop, and it would be easy to invent excuses for the hostility.

3. The anti-Japanese sentiment is confined to those who have to meet Japanese competition. There is rather kindly sentiment toward the Japanese on the part of all those who profit by Japanese labor. Those who lose by it through competition are almost invariably hostile.

4. I only know of one possible solution—that is, keeping the two races territorially separated. This, of course, should be done in a dignified and gentlemanly manner, through diplomacy, and not allow it to result from hostility and agitation. No two races ever did live together in the same territory, and compete with one another for jobs or for markets, without developing race hostility. The only possible solution, therefore, is for them not to try to live together in the same territory. A second best solution, even more difficult, perhaps, than territorial separation, is occupational separation. If certain occupations in California could be turned over completely to the Japanese, and others reserved completely for Americans, this would eliminate hostility; but

it would probably be impossible to bring about such an occupational separation.

5. The suspicion of Japanese motives is merely a result of the hostile sentiment which develops naturally among those who have to bear the brunt of Japanese competition. Where hostility develops, of course, suspicion will be present. There will always be demagogues, of course, who will play upon the hostile sentiment of the laboring people who have to bear the brunt of Japanese competition, but unless this hostile sentiment were present, the demagogue would not find this a fruitful field for the exercise of his powers.

6. Both nations should agree amicably upon a recognition of territorial and racial boundaries and keep the two races territorially separate. This is the only possible way to preserve amity and good will between the two nations.

ANSWERS BY GEO. I. COCHRAN

President, Pacific Mutual Life Insurance Company
Los Angeles, Cal.

1. In my judgment, the present anti-Japanese agitation is racial. That is, the Japanese are not a race which blends easily with the American people. The Englishman, the Frenchman, the German, can come to America and in a second generation he is Americanized and can not very easily be distinguished from the ordinary American. Of course this is not so with the Japanese. This is not a question of inferiority or superiority, but merely a question of similarity of race.

2. The most important objection to the Japanese in California is that they are purchasing lands and planting colonies, which preserve their Japanese racial, social, and economic characteristics. It is, of course, objectionable in any country for any foreign race to come in under such conditions.

3. The anti-Japanese sentiment as against colonization is very widespread in California, and you might almost say it is universal, and such being the case will undoubtedly become national.

4. In my judgment the only permanent solution of the Japanese problem in California, or in the United States, will be a prohibition of colonization by Japanese. Just how this could be effected I can not say, but there should be a frank understanding between the two Governments on this subject.

5. There is a certain suspicion of Japan now prevalent in the United States, based upon the demands which Japan seems to make upon America to admit her citizens for colonization purposes, contrary to the wishes of the American people and contrary to their desire to preserve America for themselves. Any nation which demands this of another nation is not acting in a friendly way, and when the nation so acting spends large amounts on military and naval equipment, following the example of Germany, it does not add to the peace and quietness of its neighbor.

6. The people of the United States are naturally friendly to Japan, and I believe are unanimous in desiring to maintain a real friendship with the Japanese. In all the agitation in California, I have not observed any personal antagonism or any rural race hatred; but, on the other hand, relations between the Japanese and the Californians are extremely friendly. All that is necessary, in my judgment, to main-

tain friendship between the two nations is a frank understanding on the immigration question. The Japanese are very welcome in the United States as students, as tourists, as merchants, and as residents for commercial purposes; but when it comes to planting Japanese colonies in America, it can not be done. As far as the Japanese now in California are concerned, they are a thrifty, hard-working people and their rights should be preserved to them.

ANSWERS BY WM. HORACE DAY

The United Church
Bridgeport, Conn.

1. All three elements, economic, social, and racial, enter in. Native-born are always irritated when a foreigner is more energetic and capable and is more successful in his business than they are. The barrier of language and no less of custom makes it difficult for native-born Americans to understand the Japanese. Racial antagonisms seem to me largely based on limited knowledge of one another.

2. The most important objection to the Japanese is the belief that his success in competition is largely due to a lower standard of life, and therefore he is able to take work away from native-born attempting to hold up the so-called American standard in wages, hours, and conditions. The conviction that the Japanese is nonassimilable is largely based on two convictions, neither of which is scientifically established: (a) that biological assimilation, that is, intermarriage, is detrimental to both races, and (b) that there can be no distinction between social assimilation and biological—that is, if you admit the Japanese to brotherly social relations on the Christian basis, that means the doors are wide open for intermarriage.

3. On this subject I can not speak from detailed knowledge. My impression is that anti-Japanese sentiment will be found in groups of organized labor, though that sentiment has been distinctly checked through the recent progress of the American federation toward the abolition of the color line. In the South, where the negro has been feared and unjustly dealt with, one finds very great fear of any racial problem and intense sympathy with the more narrow-minded California point of view.

4. In California, as elsewhere, every believer in a brotherly world must be eternally busy upholding the doctrine of human unity and the spirit of Christ as the sufficient and only solution of race hostility.

5. The fear that the Government of Japan is controlled by a Prussianized militaristic group in the interests of an imperialism of the same sort as that which brought defeat upon Germany. The suspicion of Japanese imperialism has been intensified by the apparent disregard of the rights of China in Shantung, the colonial policy in Korea, as well as activities in Manchuria and in Siberia.

6. If the historic friendship between our two nations across the Pacific is to endure, there must be a better spirit in America than the "safety first" jingoism which one hears on altogether too many lips. If commercial and diplomatic rivalry may be carried on strictly within the rules of the game, with frankness and fairness toward all, we shall never have trouble. At least in America, we ought to throw fewer stones at other nations and at the same time keep clean the glass in our own house.

ANSWERS BY STEPHEN P. DUGGAN

Director of The Institute of International Education

New York

1. Your first question as to the principal reasons of the present anti-Japanese agitations in California: To me they are economic and social, not racial. I state more fully my belief in No. 2.

2. The chief objections against Japanese in California, as I found them when I visited California last spring, were, first, that they had segregated themselves in some of the more favored regions and had thereby driven out the native Californians. The driving out was due, I was told, to the fact that the Japanese live on a much lower plane than could the Americans and they therefore could underbid the Americans both in selling commodities and in labor; that the entire family went into the fields early in the morning and returned late in the evening, this including women and girls as well as men and boys, and that, therefore, this was a menace to the standard of living of Americans.

3. As to the degree of extension of anti-Japanese sentiment in the United States, I find it local and not national. There seems to be none in the East and the North and the South as I have gone over the country during the past year, but it is very pronounced and very general along the entire Pacific Coast.

4. To ask me to suggest a permanent solution of the Japanese problem in California is to pose a big problem; however, I think if Japanese labor were rigidly excluded and it was made perfectly evident in some way that the children of Japanese born in the United States would have no double allegiance, two sources of friction would be removed.

5. The grounds of suspicion of Japan now prevalent in the United States are, I think, due to events in China. Not merely the holding of Shantung and the wide expansion of Japanese control in Manchuria, but the incidents that took place during the great war, such as the sending of the Twenty-one Demands upon China, the unusually large army sent by Japan into Siberia, the reports returned that this army was being used rather to extend Japanese influence than to fight the Bolsheviks, etc., all these have built up the belief in the minds of a large number of Americans that Japan is but little removed from Prussia in being a militaristic nation with militaristic objects.

6. As to what the people of the United States expect of Japan in maintaining the historical friendship between the two nations, I may

say that I feel that every evidence we receive of a growth of democratic spirit in Japan helps to remove suspicion of Japan in the United States. Moreover, every indication, I assume, upon the part of the Japanese to treat the Chinese fairly, also helps to allay suspicion in the United States. Reports of the extension of civil as against military control in Korea lend assistance to a better understanding.

ANSWERS BY A. E. DUNNING

Ex-Editor of "The Congregationalist"

Boston, Mass.

1 and 2. Within a few months a Jew has bought a residence near ours. The neighbors did not know it was being sold till the transaction was completed. Then it was found that he had paid an unusually high price for his bargain. Yet the neighbors tried to buy the property at the sale price or higher. The Jew refused to sell on any terms. His family are just now moving into the house. I have no objection to having a Jewish family living near me. I have friends among the Jews whom I highly esteem. Why is the neighborhood so disturbed? Let me tell you what happened to a former partner of mine. When he retired from business he bought a fine place in a desirable community in Boston. After a while a Jew bought the place opposite. Then another Jew secured the place next door. Property in the vicinity soon began to be offered at decreased value. Other Jewish families came in. They had their own social life, traded with Jews, changed the appearance of the neighborhood. After my partner died his executors found it difficult to get a purchaser for the house at any price. It was finally bought by a Jew at one-third what it had cost. Does not this tell the whole story?

As you know, Japanese in this part of the United States are as welcome in American homes as our fellow Americans are. They open shops in our business streets which are patronized just as American shops are. Their presence in our churches, in our schools and colleges, and public assemblies causes no protest or criticism. But where they become so numerous as to form communities of their own, with schools using their own language, studying Japanese history, government, and institutions in preference to those of the United States, maintaining loyalty to their own country and obedience to its laws, they become a source of irritation, are regarded as a menace to the stability of our nation, just as Americans would to Japanese, if they should attempt to establish exclusive communities in your country. These conditions I think point out the cause of trouble over Japanese in Hawaii, California, and the states on our Pacific Coast. This cause is first racial, then social, next political, and constantly economic.

3. Outside the territories I have mentioned I don't think anti-Japanese sentiment is active except as it is fostered by politicians and by

newspapers for political reasons, just as some of your political leaders and editors cultivate anti-American sentiment. But racial movements, especially those arising from overcrowded population in a country, and ambition for expansion into desirable territory of other countries, are often difficult to explain and always hard to control.

4. The chief remedies that occur to me are, first, conferences between representative statesmen of both countries, without spectators or public discussion while they are in progress. Both parties seeking the common good, a solution may be reached which will commend itself to well-disposed Americans and Japanese. Such an international commission, I understand, is being planned.

5. The grounds of suspicion of Japan in the United States, so far as I have observed, are to be found in the attitude of the military party in Japan and the immigration of Japanese laborers and farmers.

6. Just what would the people of Japan require of the people of the United States or would require if they were in the situation of the people of the United States? The large majority of Americans have a cordial friendship for the Japanese nation and for her people; admire their intellectual achievements, their bravery, their enterprise, and their national spirit; and believe that the welfare of the world and especially the development of the higher civilization of the Orient requires that this historical friendship shall be jealously guarded and promoted.

ANSWERS BY SIDNEY L. GULICK

Secretary of the Federation of the
Churches of Christ in America
New York, N. Y.

1. Personally I regard the immediate cause of the present anti-Japanese agitation in California to be the political aspirations of certain candidates for office. Of course they could not have stirred up the great disturbance there had there not been real problems involved. These are concerned partly with the economic rivalry of the Japanese, who are proving themselves to be very successful as farmers and to have secured a very strong position in the agricultural interests of the state. Some Californians, moreover, are undoubtedly tainted with social snobbery and race prejudice. Agitators appeal to all of these considerations. By wanton and shameless exaggerations as to the increase of Japanese population by immigration and especially by births, they have produced a real fear of Japan in the major part of the population of California, if I may judge from the indications that come to me from many sources.

2. Criticisms of the Japanese, based on false statistics, can easily be brushed aside, at least so far as impartial thinkers are concerned. But many fair-minded Americans are seriously concerned with the way in which Japanese so-called colonies have developed. The difficulties of Americanization are very serious. The bad feeling current among many Americans has, I understand, tended to develop corresponding feelings among some Japanese. I am inclined to think also that in their keen economic competition Japanese have resorted to unfair methods of driving out white competitors by insisting upon exclusive Japanese trade and monopolies in certain areas. There also seem to be grounds for believing that there has been more or less of smuggling of Japanese laborers across the Mexican border. Our Immigration Bureau asserts it unqualifiedly.

During the past five years the American people have been greatly stirred by the policies of the Japanese militaristic and imperialistic groups in Shantung; by their dealings with corruptible Chinese officials; by their brutal handling of the Korean people; and by the misunderstandings in the unfortunate relations that developed between American and Japanese troops in Siberia. It has been the fashion for some

time now for newspaper editors to lay all the blame for all the mishaps upon the Japanese and to assume that the right in every case was with the Chinese as against Japanese; was with Koreans as against the local government; and with the Americans in contrast with the Japanese military commanders in Siberia.

3. It is my conviction that never before was there so widespread a feeling of condemnation of Japan throughout the United States as at present. Of course, the unthinking masses who are influenced by the Hearst papers are completely swayed by those feelings, but even the most intelligent readers of the public press and the great mass of our Christian ministers have been deeply disturbed by the course followed by Japan in China, Korea, and Siberia. The strength of the liberal movement in Japan is not widely known in America. The common belief is that Japan is the Prussia of the Far East, not only in its imperialistic ambitions and plans for domination by intrigue, by bribery, and brute force where necessary, but also in its conceptions of the state, in its methods of popular education, and in its practical deification of the reigning Emperor. On the other hand, I ought to say that in spite of this general feeling with regard to Japan, I think it is also true that the great majority of our people do not share in the hysterical attitude of the California agitators. They are quite convinced that immigration from Japan should be completely stopped and yet at the same time that the small number of Japanese that is now here should be given fair and equal treatment.

4. For the permanent solution of the Japanese problem, it seems to me that the Japanese and American Governments should agree to the giving up of the Gentlemen's Agreement as soon as suitable laws can be passed by Congress for the complete handling of Japanese immigration by American laws and American administrators. So long as Japanese immigration is handled by Japan under a Gentlemen's Agreement it will be discredited and attacked by agitators who see in it an opportunity for arousing suspicion and of capitalizing it for their personal or party interests. The distrust of Japan is so widespread that the charge vigorously made that Japan has not honorably administered the Gentlemen's Agreement is generally accepted. As you know, I have done my best to disprove that charge and to overcome that suspicion. It is also my conviction that if America is going to seek a real and permanent solution of the Japanese problem, we must change our laws with regard to naturalization.

Our National Committee for Constructive Immigration Legislation has a bill in Congress providing for raising the standards of naturaliza-

tion and then for giving citizenship to everyone who will qualify. Then, of course, the Japanese in California, especially in those areas where congestion has developed, ought themselves to make thoroughgoing efforts toward Americanization. Because of the anti-Japanese animus in California, the Californians are not likely to give very wholesome assistance. Therefore the Japanese will have to make efforts themselves to secure the best conditions. I have special reference to the children. The Japanese, it seems to me, might well employ American kindergarten teachers in large numbers, making sure that they are Christian and friendly and that they will visit the homes of the Japanese, helping the Japanese women to understand American life and helping them also to learn English. If the Japanese communities should employ two or three hundred such teachers for several years, the rapid and splendid Americanization of the Japanese children and their development into fine American citizens fully equipped with the English language, and especially if they are Christians, will do more than any one thing I can think of to completely and permanently overcome the boggy that is now haunting the American mind.

5. In what I have said above I think I have adequately answered your question as to the grounds of suspicion of Japan now prevalent.

6. The people of America as a whole, I think, wish to be sure that for some time, perhaps for several decades, there shall be no Japanese immigration to America and that the Japanese children in America may prove themselves capable and desirous of assimilation. If they are going to stay here permanently they should definitely and absolutely give up their citizenship in Japan. Japanese parents by the thousand should declare to the consulates that their children are American citizens and desire to renounce their Japanese citizenship and the Foreign Office of Japan should accept these declarations promptly and give out statistics as to the numbers of those who have done so. This will reassure the American people with regard to the question of double citizenship.

The writings of such men as Lafcadio Hearn are widely accepted in America as correct representations of Japan. The intellectualists of America are convinced that any person having Japanese blood in his veins is inevitably and always an absolute and loyal citizen of Japan, instinctively and spontaneously a worshipper of the Japanese Emperor, and that no Japanese will voluntarily surrender his Japanese citizenship. For this reason the prompt renunciation of Japanese citizenship by Japanese parents of children born in America would be a very valuable factor in changing the American opinion just referred to.

Then, of course, any changes in the Japanese Empire in the direction of liberalism and fair-play between Japan and the other peoples of the Orient, and the development of goodwill among them because of the adoption of policies free from imperialistic aggression and forced assimilation, would serve to change American opinion with regard to Japan as the one remaining imperialistic and militaristic empire in the world.

ANSWERS BY ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

Professor of Government, Harvard University
Cambridge, Mass.

I have received your circular of October 18 with the questionnaire. It is not necessary to fill out the specific list of questions. I am totally opposed to permanent Japanese immigration into the United States for precisely the reason that the Imperial Government of Japan would be implacably opposed to a similar invasion of Americans into their country. In either case it would create a body of residents who are bound to retain a large part of their national characteristics and prepossessions. Having been in Japan and having made the acquaintance and friendship of many Japanese, it is always a pleasure to bear testimony to the high qualities of the Japanese nation. Doubtless some objection to the Japanese immigration is due to the industry and success of the Japanese. To my mind the greater the ability of the race, the stronger the reason for not permitting a community to grow up within our limits.

Of course, the obvious answer to my objection is that it might apply to any of the European races. The counter answer is equally obvious, namely, that the European races can be, and many of them will be, absorbed in the general population, whereas the Oriental races are bound to remain indefinitely in permanent race groups. We have a Negro question, an Indian question, a Mexican question of a similar nature. The Negroes and Indians are born on our soil and it is too late to prevent the creation of their groups. It is not too late to prevent similar difficulties from arising. The exclusion of the Chinese forty years ago put an end to that danger and was, therefore, a good thing for the United States.

I have believed ever since I was in Japan that the whole matter could be arranged on a basis of reciprocity, by a treaty prohibiting, on both sides, the immigration of all but the four classes so treated with respect to China, namely, diplomats, students, merchants, and travelers. That would put the matter on an equal basis, namely, that neither nation is willing to permit the growth of a large resident group in the other country. The great obstacle to that, of course, is the acceptance by the United States of the doctrine of transference of allegiance, embodied in the Act of 1868—practically, however, the United States does not stand by that doctrine, and the time has come when it ought to abandon it.

ANSWERS BY H. B. JOHNSON

Superintendent of Japanese M. E. Churches
San Francisco, Cal.

1. Doubtless all have entered into the agitation. The newspapers have placed great emphasis upon the economic argument. The labor leaders, who led the agitation a few years ago, also did the same. The principal competition has been in laundries and in farming. The competition grows out of longer working hours rather than cheaper prices. Also there seems to be much reason for the criticism that women take the place of men. This is very unfortunate under present circumstances.

The social barrier seems to be growing. This is in part due to the state law forbidding intermarriage. Prejudice has played a large part. There has been a strong tendency to prejudice without due examination. The fact that the Japanese in America succeeded the Chinese has had much to do with the prejudice. Standards were established before the Japanese came, and they have had great difficulty in overcoming these. Unfortunately a large percentage of the Japanese belonged to the laboring class, and there has been a strong tendency to center in or near the various Chinatowns of the state. In many cases this has been involuntary, but it has had its influence socially, just the same. So large a percentage of Japanese being employed as house servants has also had its influence in keeping the races socially apart. There seems to be no social barrier among the larger business men nor among the children and students in the schools.

Though it is denied by those responsible for the agitation, unquestionably racial characteristics enter largely into the situation. In my testimony before the Congressional Immigration Committee I showed that the criticism concerning the lack of assimilation is unfounded. To be sure a very large percentage of the Japanese people on the Coast, particularly the Buddhists, have shown little tendency toward assimilation, but this does not prove the impossibility. I fully believe, from wide observation, in the possibility of successful amalgamation. Experience in our schools and missions has proved the possibility of intellectual and spiritual assimilation. While this is all true, the question in California has been largely one of race.

Politics has played a large part in the agitation. This has been one of the most important factors in the agitation. For several years

those opposed to the Japanese have been strong enough politically to be able to pledge parties and candidates. This has given wide publicity to the agitation.

2. Some of the more important objections or grievances against Japanese in California, or in the United States, are: (a) The mode of living of a large number. Unfortunately very many are obliged to live in run-down property in the cities, in Chinatowns, or in shacks in the country. With few exceptions the Japanese are too careless about window curtains and flowers. If all could live as a few do in residential sections, without colonizing, and keep their places neat and respectable, criticism would soon die out. Too little attention is paid to exterior appearance.

(b) The tendency to colonize both in city and country and to keep up the customs of the fatherland. Many other immigrants are open to this criticism, and in many cases the Japanese avoid this. Nevertheless, many Japanese in America are really open to criticism.

(c) In connection with colonization, the establishment of stores for Japanese trade, particularly grocery stores, and the massing of the children in the public schools in certain districts. So long as the Japanese trade with American merchants there is little criticism. When they open stores and banks, they lose friends. Also as to the schools, there is little difficulty until the children of certain communities become so numerous as to practically monopolize the school. These conditions largely grow out of colonization.

(d) The prevalence of the pool rooms. These in many cities and towns are very objectionable. They generally keep open Sunday. American mothers are greatly opposed to them, and particularly Christians. These are friends that the Japanese can not afford to lose. The great problem is to provide some proper places of amusement for our Japanese residents. However, it is a community problem rather than a Japanese question.

(e) The establishment of Japanese language schools, particularly under Buddhist direction. This is a phase of the question that has been aggravated by conditions in Hawaii and by experiences with aliens during the war. Such schools properly conducted could be made very helpful in Americanization. Japanese signs—these can be seen everywhere in the Japanese section of our American cities. They emphasize Japanese numbers and conditions and create suspicion.

(g) Many Americans who are true friends of the Japanese raise the question of the necessity of the various Japanese associations. I hear many criticisms, many of which it is difficult to answer. The

same question is raised concerning foreign language newspapers. Some embarrassment has come from translations.

3. It is certainly spreading as a result of the following: (a) The political campaign in California; (b) the determination of certain leaders to unite the Pacific Coast in a campaign that shall influence Congress; (c) anti-Japanese articles appearing in weekly and monthly periodicals with a nation-wide circulation; (d) the influence of certain Korean and Chinese organizations and a mixing of Far Eastern questions with purely domestic ones; (e) the agitation within the American Legion which is now nation-wide.

4. By correcting, as far as possible, the conditions outlined under question two, as follows: (a) The mode of living of a large number; the tendency to colonize both in city and country; monopolizing trade and school privileges in certain sections; pool rooms; Japanese language schools as previously conducted; Japanese signs, associations, and newspapers.

(b) Thorough coöperation with sympathetic Americans in all plans for Americanization, campaigns of education, etc. This is very important both in securing the American viewpoint and in allaying suspicion.

(c) Discouraging sending American-born Japanese (prospective American citizens) to Japan for education.

(d) Encouraging a closer restriction of immigration, particularly of the laboring class.

(e) The strict keeping of the state laws, until proved unconstitutional, even though some of them appear to be unjust. Without question, the methods of buying agricultural land under advice of American lawyers and with the encouragement of American land owners, since the passing of the land law of 1913, have had great influence.

(f) Encouraging parents everywhere in city and in country to send their children and young people to Sunday school. I refer both to Japanese Sunday schools and to American schools, particularly in sparsely settled districts. All the children who are in the public schools should attend Sunday school. Moral and religious instruction founded upon Christianity is the foundation of the best to be found in American life. After the World's Sunday School Convention in Tokyo, such encouragement should be comparatively easy. I fear for the American-born Japanese youth who is reared in America outside of Christian influences. This is true of all youths.

5. The principal ground is a systematic campaign of information or misinformation carried on concerning Shantung, Korea, Siberia, Hawaii, and the Pacific Coast. The result is a quite general belief that

the military party in Japan is awaiting its opportunity. The present spirit in America resents rather than fears what appears to be a military menace. There is need of the utmost caution in public discussion, and of the utmost frankness in all dealings, both personal and national.

6. Nothing will satisfy the agitators, certain politicians, and the yellow press. The people of the United States generally have a high sense of justice. They admire frankness. They greatly appreciate the historical friendship between the two nations and sincerely desire it to continue. There is a fear that certain influences in Japan or the United States may bring about serious trouble. This fear may not be well grounded, but it is quite widespread. Hence, the closing sentence under No. 5 is applicable here—"There is need of the utmost caution in public discussion, and of the utmost frankness in all dealings, both personal and national."

A very suggestive passage is found in the Old Testament (Micah 6:8) as follows: "He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?"

This is a high standard. No people can expect more than this. The nearer we approach this ideal both as individuals and as nations the more certain are we to bring about those conditions which will assure lasting friendship and peace.

ANSWERS BY GEORGE TRUMBULL LADD

Professor Emeritus Yale University
New Haven, Conn.

1. The more active anti-Japanese agitation in California and elsewhere in the United States arose at the time of the Russo-Japanese war. It was fostered by the agents of the press who were prevented from getting to the front, and then by promoters of financial concessions in China, and especially in Korea, under the corrupted Emperor. Its culmination in California is chiefly worked up by politicians catering to the laborers, though, of course, the majority of those settling in California have belonged to the lower Japanese classes.

2. I do not believe that there are any real special objections to receiving the Japanese as immigrants, but I do think we are admitting foreigners of all countries much too freely and much faster than we can assimilate them. This is one of our chief political perils.

3. Chinese and Korean propagandism has of late been spreading anti-Japanese sentiment all over the country, even here in the East. They have been, however, most successful in the West and Southwest. The mistakes which Japan made in the government of Korea, after the time of Prince Ito, have been very influential; and the Chinese students in this country are as unscrupulous in spreading falsehoods as at home.

4. The Japanese Government will never succeed in reinstating itself by making "concessions." It should adopt and hold a firm policy of behaving as though it were acting for a people the equals in respect of political rights of any other people. And it should be less secretive in politely but firmly insisting on its expectation that it is going to be treated as though it were the equal. The jingo press of both countries is equally injurious and contemptible. There is one matter, however, which I had much influence in setting right in your country at the time of the agitation in Japan over the school question in San Francisco, and that is, the extent to which the legislation of the states is by our Constitution out of the control of the Federal Government. If California passes the laws it threatens, you will fight them by all legal means possible up to the decision of the Supreme Court. If that decision is against you, then your Government will actively resent the action of California in every way short of war.

5. With the people at large, the reports both true and false, and, as many of them are, partly true and partly false, of the intentions and actions of the Japanese in China and Korea, and in the Far East generally. But on the whole, the whole history of the thing is a relative affair. Both the Chinese and the Koreans are their own worst enemies.

6. Never mind what those who are in politics say as to what they want. Decide what is right and go ahead and do it. That will win respect and you must not forfeit that.

ANSWERS BY FREDERICK LYNCH

Educational Secretary, The Church Peace Union
New York, N. Y.

1. I think the anti-Japanese agitation in California can largely be traced to the desire of certain men there to make political capital. We have it in various forms in this country. They make enmity with England to get the Irish vote, they make enmity with Japan to get the jingo vote of California. Of course, economic rivalry of the Japanese troubles some in California, and, of course, there is a latent race prejudice in the uncultured of all countries, but I do not think either of these would be quite enough to make the agitation as severe as it is. I rather think it will die down somewhat now that the election is over.

2. I do not know enough about the situation to say how real the grievances are which are brought up in California. I think that if there are any, they might be, first, the feeling that the Japanese are so keenly interested in success that they are willing to live by standards which are not American and even sometimes have been stretched beyond the point of what Americans consider fair-play in economic competition. Secondly, I think there is also a feeling among some Americans that the Japanese do not want to become Americans. Then, too, you have a militaristic party in Japan which is imperialistic and says things which irritate in this country, just as some of our sayings often do in Japan. I think that the two things which have done more to prejudice Americans against the Japanese during the last five years than anything else, speaking now of America as a whole, have undoubtedly been Shantung and the reports which come about the treatment of Koreans. I know a great many Americans who have devoted all their lives to fighting the anti-Japanese sentiments in California and have been very friendly toward Japan, who have been a little cooled in their ardor by the reports from Korea and by Japan's refusal to go out of Shantung.

3. I think the feeling against Japan is more accentuated at just this moment than it has been for a long time owing to the things mentioned above. Of course this feeling among the masses is fanned all the time by the Hearst papers throughout the country. These papers are forever playing up the fact that Japan is the Prussia of the Far East. But I

agree with Doctor Gulick that the great majority of people in America "do not share in the hysterical attitude of the California agitators."

4. I think that the Gentlemen's Agreement should be abandoned and suitable laws should be passed by Congress regulating the whole question of immigration into the United States, not distinguishing the Japanese from any other group, but making such laws that immigration should be adjusted to our capacity to assimilate. In this way the laws would be just, both to those who come and to the country which receives them. I am told by those who have made a pretty thorough study of the situation in California that there really is no difficulty in assimilating Japanese and Americanizing them, that they adapt themselves to our Western civilization and our American ideals fully as easily as do those who come from Slavic states or Italy.

5. Answered above.

6. I think if the people of the United States would see Japan undertaking the following things it would make all the difference in the world in their feeling:

(a) Whatever attitude our country may have taken toward the League of Nations for the present, the people on the whole believe the day of imperialism has passed away, and any country which undertakes to practice imperialism in the old Prussian sense of that word, or even in a modified way, will lose the sympathy of the world. I think that if Japan today would come right out and say, "We are done with Shantung," there would be a wave of admiration all over the world that would do Japan more good, politically, socially, and economically, than anything she will get out of Shantung. I mean this seriously. I do not think that any one who has not lived in America since the Armistice realizes how sore Americans have felt on the whole Shantung matter.

(b) I think that if Japan would say to the world, "We are going to withdraw out of Korea the whole militaristic crowd and the military government and give it the best civil administration that we can," and say frankly and plainly that just as soon as Korea is ready for self-government she shall have it, say it as strongly at least as the United States has said it with regard to the Philippines, Japan would gain infinitely in herself and gain the admiration of the world. It is the nation which will do these things that is going to be the great nation of the future.

(c) I think that Japan has got to realize that America is a young nation and is growing very rapidly and has very difficult economic problems to solve, and that, for a while at least, emigration on any large scale should be discouraged by Japan.

(d) Japanese parents in America should declare, not only to the American authorities but to the Japanese authorities, that their children are American citizens and expect to be American citizens pure and simple. This would remove a feeling that exists that the Japanese are Japanese always and everywhere, as the Kaiser used to say that Germans are Germans always.

ANSWERS BY ROBERT NEWTON LYNCH

San Francisco Chamber of Commerce
San Francisco, Cal.

1. The principal reason for the present anti-Japanese agitation in California is due to the fear that Japanese farmers and laborers will rapidly increase in numbers and by their thrift, organization, industry, and the backing of aggregations of Japanese capital and influence in Japan, gain permanent possession of the best agricultural lands in this state. There is grave apprehension that the Japanese residents, not being eligible to citizenship in this country and representing a race and culture which makes them practically nonassimilable, at least at the present time, will create a social and racial problem that will grow into uncontrollable magnitude.

2. The answer to the above question states the most important objection against the Japanese in California. There are, however, numerous minor objections and grievances based on industrial experience and general reputation which naturally became exaggerated under present conditions. Rightly or wrongly the popular mind gives a reputation to the Japanese of being unusually calculating and selfish in their business dealings, particularly regarding personal contracts. They have the reputation of advancing their personal interests in violation of the average standards of honor and loyalty which obtains among our people. The methods by which the Japanese have acquired land and the shrewd advantage which they are said to take of their own unacceptability in certain resident and agricultural sections is resented. A certain arrogance or overbearing attitude in individual Japanese in the first flush of prosperity arouses feeling. The prosperity of the Japanese due to long hours, thrifty habits, lower economic standards and the utilization of their wives as laborers, arouses jealousy among Americans and others who do not wish to compete on such a basis.

You will, of course, understand that I do not share all these opinions or objections. The fact is, if the Japanese remain as laborers, they would be welcome among many people, who would like to use their labor, but do not welcome them as competitors. I am certain that many of these objections are ill-founded and would tend to disappear if the fear of a large developing population could be removed and the Japanese that are here had a fair chance to learn our customs and adapt themselves to our standards.

3. I will limit to California my answer as to how widespread is the present anti-Japanese sentiment. The economic objection to the Japanese has always been found among the laboring groups and the agricultural objections to certain farming localities where the Japanese have colonies. However, the almost unanimous opinion of all classes in the state is against the development of the problem.

4. As a permanent solution of the Japanese question in California, I would suggest:

(1) Immediate arrangements between the two Governments to restrict immigration to travelers, merchants, students, and others who do not intend to reside permanently in the United States.

(2) Reciprocal treaty arrangements prohibiting the ownership of agricultural lands by the citizens of either country residing in the other.

3. Frequent contacts by representative groups of business men and others meeting in Japan and California, and building up an educational program showing our common interest in the commerce of the Pacific.

(4) Careful study by both countries of the commercial and moral standards of the other, and the development of a proper self-respecting basis of coöperation in business and personal affairs.

(5) Justice to the present Japanese population lawfully in this country.

5. You ask for the grounds of suspicion of Japan now prevalent and widespread in the United States. Without being able to gauge accurately this "widespread suspicion" I would say that Japan's Korean policy, her military aggressiveness in Siberia, the Shantung question, her designs on China, and her general commercial reputation have combined to make a cause of considerable suspicion.

6. One hesitates to attempt any authorized answer to your sixth question, but it is my personal belief that the historical friendship between the United States and Japan can best be maintained by a frank recognition in both countries of the fundamental differences in our race and culture and the need of patience and careful study in the adjustment of our standards and the relations of our peoples. Japan should not approach this problem with any attitude or show of force, as she has a very strong appeal to a sense of justice in the American people. Every possible opportunity should be availed to bring the best elements of Japan and the United States together. Closer and more frequent commercial contacts, cultivated in the broadest possible way, will greatly assist the situation. Japan should minimize her sensitiveness and be as sensible as possible to recognize the inevitable problems.

ANSWERS BY MARTIN A. MEYER

Rabbi, Temple Emanu-El
San Francisco, Cal.

1. The principal reason for the anti-Japanese agitation is economic.

2. That the chief reason seems to be the lower wage scale by which the Japanese compete to their advantage against white labor. That the Japanese are nonassimilable in the body politic, and even those who are naturalized retain a loyalty to their old land.

3. I believe this feeling is chiefly to be found in the West, where the Japanese are more numerous, and among the working classes, who feel the competition more keenly, though I note that a similar feeling of doubt is widespread. This larger attitude is determined, I believe, in no little measure by political reasons, as many assume that Japan as a nation is moved by imperialistic motives to dominate the Pacific and drive Europeans and Americans out.

4. I am not prepared to suggest the grounds of a permanent solution, but I believe it will be along the line suggested by Doctor Gulick in his percentage basis of admitting immigrants.

5. I think I have indicated in the latter part of number three this reason.

6. Personally, I should say that I am not a believer in breeding international or interracial hatreds. I believe any violent methods would rebound to the utmost disadvantage of both parties. I will therefore say that a frank, open diplomacy, such as the ideal of the fourteen points brought out, would be most helpful in quieting public opinion. Naturally, there must not be any extreme sensitiveness on the part of the Japanese nation to imaginary slights, nor a similar hypersensitiveness on the part of the Americans, seeing in every move a threat. In a word, frankness and sincerity will do most to straighten out the present serious situation.

ANSWERS BY V. S. McCLATCHY

Publisher of the "Sacramento Bee"
Sacramento, Cal.

1. In my judgment the basis of the movement in California against Japanese immigration, and Japanese control of lands is purely economic. The conceded advantages of the Japanese in economic competition, due partly to the possession of qualities which are creditable rather than discreditable to them, create a situation in which the whites see themselves in time driven out of certain industries and driven out of favored localities and communities.

It is, however, I think, certain that the present economic problem will inevitably develop into a racial problem if existing conditions continue, since the white race will not tamely submit, any more than the Japanese race would submit, to being driven slowly and steadily from favored localities and favored business by an alien and unassimilable race.

2. The Japanese, by those who have studied the question, are regarded as undesirable residents, not because they are in any way an inferior race, and not because they indulge in crime or breaches of the peace, but because, as indicated in answer to question one, their advantages in economic competition permit them to supplant the whites in localities and in industries.

They are objectionable because they are unassimilable. They can not, may not, and will not become good American citizens, and the reasons therefor were specifically and at length set forth in my statement before the House Committee on Immigration, printed digest of which is enclosed.

Still another objection to Japanese is the fact that they maintain in this country a government within the government, and that while demanding and enjoying the rights and privileges of residence, and even of citizenship here, they are loyal dependents of the Mikado, sworn to do his will and to care first for the interests of Japan.

3. The anti-Japanese sentiment is strongest and most pronounced in California, where the inevitable effects of Japanese peaceful penetration and concentration are present and have been investigated and made generally known. From California that sentiment is spreading to other states and to other communities in which the Japanese have commenced to settle, and will become in time general if present conditions continue,

as other states and other communities in which the Japanese have not settled at all are educated up to a knowledge of the facts and the inevitable results to the nation of a continued influx of Japanese.

In other words, the anti-Japanese sentiment will become national when the nation at large realizes the fact that the menace which has overshadowed Hawaii and has threatened California will eventually affect the entire nation if it is permitted to grow.

4. There is only one permanent solution of the Japanese problem in California, and that is an absolute guarantee, in the shape of rigid exclusion, that no more Japanese shall come here, and that those who are here shall not be permitted to secure that control of agricultural lands, either through ownership or lease, which will be destructive of the interests of the whites and of the state.

5. The grounds of suspicion of Japan now prevalent and widespread in the United States will be found in her attitude, past and present, in the Far East, and indication that such policy would be carried on in America if conditions permitted. The further grounds are found in the policy of the Japanese in this country—especially in Hawaii and California—where their numbers in certain communities have permitted them to follow their methods of peaceful penetration along certain systematized lines. These matters will be found fully set forth in “The Germany of Asia,” and in “California’s Race Problem,” copies of which are herewith enclosed.

6. The existing friendship between the two nations can not possibly be maintained if in either nation there is permitted to exist an alien unassimilable community, threatening the interests of the citizens and institutions of the land. The surest way to cause disruption of the existing friendship, and the creation of trouble more or less serious between the two nations, is to permit such an alien unassimilable community of Japanese to grow and spread itself over various states of the Union. In the same way, the friendship would be inevitably ruptured if a large settlement of Americans were to take possession of certain favored spots in Japan, controlling her agricultural lands and the products thereof, and the markets. Only in that case, Japan would be far less tolerant than has been the United States in dealing with the question. This is on the assumption that under the laws of Japan Americans would be permitted to own and control or to use and make profit from the agricultural lands, which is not the case.

ANSWERS BY EDWARD L. PARSONS

Bishop Coadjutor, Diocese of California
San Francisco, Cal.

1. All three; to which also must be added political.

2. So far as I can see, all the objections go back to the race question. There is the feeling that the Japanese can not without great difficulty be assimilated to our industrial and political life and not at all to our social life (intermarriage, etc.). No longer any thought of race inequality, but only of race incompatibility. All objections grow out of this.

3. The sentiment is national, i. e., one finds it among all classes. But it is much more prevalent on the Pacific Coast, where the great bulk of the people have come in contact with the question.

4. The most necessary step is the absolute prohibition of any immigration. For every reason of peace and goodwill, that should come through the Tokyo government stopping immigration, not through legislation in America. Next would be the return of Japanese to Japan who are not yet really established here, or who do not intend to stay permanently. Third, is the readiness of resident Japanese to become thoroughly Americanized. I believe most of them are more ready than Americans think, and I do not believe we have given them a fair chance to be Americanized. On the American side, more effort to help and the enactment of no unjust laws. The question can not be settled properly by law. It must be settled by the goodwill of the two peoples working together.

5. Japan's apparently imperialistic policy as evidenced in China, in Korea, and in Siberia. The treatment of Korea is everywhere condemned. Its annexation, the persecutions and cruelties attending the Japanese régime, the unnecessary efforts to Japanize in changing names, controlling books, etc. The fact that America may not be guiltless in such matters does not affect the existence of grounds for fearing the purposes of Japan. Add the utterances of Japanese papers of the imperialistic and militaristic type, and one can understand the grounds of suspicion. People feel that Japan is ambitious not only of the hegemony of Asia, but of the control of the Pacific. (I am not endorsing the inference, but only stating it.)

6. Some assurance that democratic ideals such as the best type of Americans possess are really guiding Japan's policy, or are having

increasing power in Japan. Readiness to accept such plans as to disarmament, international coöperation, etc., as are being worked out through the League of Nations. America's own disgraceful and unworthy conduct in that respect can not last long. It is quite out of keeping with the spirit of her people. Every effort must be made on both sides of the Pacific to work together. Race wars and race conflicts are not inevitable. Goodwill and coöperation can stop them. On both sides, the liberal and democratic elements must get into control.

ANSWERS BY W. W. SEYMOUR

Tacoma, Wash.

1. I think the principal reasons are economic.

2. I can not speak for California, but from what I have read I think that the chief trouble there is political; of course, back of the political, other reasons, partially economic. I believe that the chief reasonable reason is the taking over of the Shantung province in China. I believe that fundamentally the American people as a whole mean to be just and fair, that they consider that China just now is practically helpless, that Japan is strong, ambitious, and alert, and that the taking over of that rich province with forty million of an alien people was a wrong and an avaricious thing to do. I think that the condemnation of the Versailles Treaty will be very pronounced on November 2.

There is no race but what has both fine quailties and qualities which are not so fine. With any foreign people, in any land, the qualities which are not so fine are generally emphasized before the finer qualities are recognized.

Generally I find when we are thoroughly acquainted with individuals and with races the differences disappear. The difference of race is apt to stand in the way, so is that of color and religion. In the case of the Japanese, one of their characteristics is their intense love and patriotism for their own country—this in a foreign land rather tends to emphasize their separateness.

Of course, it must be appreciated that the Japanese as a rule are temperate, courteous, clean, hardworkers, and economical, and this places them in a decided advantage over those who have not these qualities to such an extent, and especially the illiterate, the selfish, and it might be said of those who wish to take life easy. To this extent the objections I think are legitimate. As a man grows older or along in certain ways he does not care to work so hard or to be placed in severe competition.

3. I think that the present anti-sentiment is largely confined to California; there is some of it in this state (Washington), fostered a good deal by the Scripps-McRae papers. I believe that it is not very pronounced anyhow and is largely of newspaper manufacture, nothing like what I understand it to be in California.

4. The best solution I could suggest for the Japanese problem in California is to suppress yellow journalism. If impracticable, the application of the Golden Rule might be advocated.

5. I doubt if the grounds of suspicion are widespread in the United States unless it has grown since the League of Nations. Previous to that time I went East a good deal, especially to New York City, sometimes staying several months at a time, and I don't recall of ever having heard the problem mentioned there. This is not to say that there may not be some of it, but I don't think it is pronounced.

6. I have understood that the Gentlemen's Agreement between Japan and the United States about immigration has been violated by Japan. (I don't know whether it has been or not.) If it has, I think that it should not be; on the other hand, if it has not been, I think this Government should emphasize that more than it has, and incidentally take greater pains to emphasize the finer qualities of the Japanese for the very reason that the people of California are doing them a great injustice. I think practically everybody appreciates this outside of California. You can readily understand that it won't do for the Japanese Government to emphasize this too much, but those people, especially in authority in this country who do know facts, are the ones to emphasize it.

Personally, I have a very high regard for many of the qualities of the Japanese. For three years I had the honor of being mayor of this city, and one of my official duties was the overseeing of the public market; I came to appreciate many of their fine qualities, there were no more courteous, friendly, and honorable people there, and we had Americans, Italians, and Greeks.

I believe the general impression among educated Americans is that no nation on the face of the earth has been more honorable in keeping its treaties than Japan, and I appreciate your endeavor to keep the historical friendship inviolate.

ANSWERS BY PAYSON J. TREAT

Professor of History
Leland Stanford, Junior, University
Palo Alto, Cal.

1. In my opinion the fundamental reason is racial. The economic and social reasons all flow from that. If the Japanese residents of California were of a white race, their manifest good qualities would render them very desirable settlers and citizens. But racial differences present reasons for misunderstanding and discrimination all over the world. The present situation in California is not unlike the pre-Meiji days in Japan when *son-o jo-i* was the motto of the fervent loyalists.

The present agitation, beginning in the early part of 1919, was incited by politicians for selfish reasons. But it was a very easy thing for them to appeal to the prejudices of our people because of the racial problem concerned. Soon every politician had to take a stand against the Japanese, and the newspapers supporting these politicians had to print as much anti-Japanese material as they could. Hence it became almost impossible for our people to learn the true state of affairs. If all I knew about the Japanese and the Japanese problem in California was derived from our newspapers I am sure that I would be as anti-Japanese as most of my fellow-citizens. Fortunately it has been my business to investigate these questions for myself.

2. The most frequently alleged objection is that the Japanese are unassimilable, both culturally and biologically. Hence it is considered unwise to permit the development of a racial group which must always stand apart in our social and political life. If the Japanese are unassimilable, then they are socially undesirable. No one seriously raises any moral objections to the Japanese (as used to be raised against the Chinese in the old days), nor is the occasional charge that they are "cheap labor" any longer believed. The Japanese immigrants do bring with them a lower standard of living than our own people enjoy, but they speedily rise to the level about them. The present initiative measure in California is concerned with landholding. This restrictive measure is only defended on the ground that the Japanese are unassimilable.

3. The sentiment is most pronounced, of course, in our Pacific Coast states, where the bulk of the Japanese immigrants are found. It is at its height in California, not only because the largest group of Japa-

nese is there, but because of the tradition of anti-Chinese agitation which still prevails. There is, of course, a danger that the agitation may spread. Political and social organizations which are nation-wide may express sympathy with their members in California, when the latter urge the danger of the Japanese menace. Under normal conditions the people of the Eastern states have no sympathy with the constant agitation against Orientals in California. But in a presidential campaign some of the Eastern newspapers will express sympathy with California in order to gain the support of California for their candidate. It is a well-known fact that all the drastic anti-Chinese laws were passed in Congress just before presidential elections, when both parties were trying to win the support of California, which in those years was a "doubtful" state. Again, we find the American Legion, in national convention, accepting the resolution proposed by the California delegates regarding Japanese immigration and landholding. Just as the issue has been clouded in California by misrepresentation, so there is always the danger that through organized effort similar misrepresentations may be accepted throughout the rest of the country.

In California the anti-Japanese sentiment seems to be widespread and not confined to classes or localities. Fifteen years ago the labor unions led in the movement, seven years ago a number of farmers joined the opposition. But today, due to the constant misrepresentations, the feeling seems to have permeated all classes. I believe, of course, that the feeling is stronger in the regions where the Japanese hold large areas of agricultural land, for the politicians are able to point out the specific danger there. It is said that in the southern part of the state, where many of the residents came from the East, there is less hostility to the Japanese than in the northern part where the old anti-Chinese tradition prevails.

4. A rigid restriction of Japanese immigration on the one hand, and the naturalization of resident Japanese and the safeguarding of all their treaty and constitutional rights, on the other. In advocating the restriction of Japanese immigration, I am moved solely by a desire to serve the best interests of both peoples. I would like to see every excuse for agitation removed, so that the Japanese in California can be judged on their merits. If in some way, we could stop the artificial agitation which is constantly being stirred up, I am sure the Japanese residents would soon demonstrate their desirability. They would in fact, in my opinion, soon become assimilated. Then, when our people understood how to live and work with Japanese newcomers, it would

be possible to revise our immigration restrictions. But we must first remove the excuse for agitation, and immigration regulation, as a temporary measure perhaps, seems to be the best way. As a matter of fact, I am firmly convinced that the Gentlemen's Agreement is the most satisfactory way of regulating immigration. I believe the Japanese government has lived up to its pledges with remarkable zeal. But although our responsible officials testify that Japan has kept the agreement, it is a very simple thing for the agitator to say that she has not, and the average man is inclined to believe such a charge. Therefore while I believe in the efficacy of the Gentlemen's Agreement, I also believe that as a matter of political expediency it should be supplanted by a law enforced by our own officials. Then, if violations occur the fault can not be ascribed to the Japanese Government, as is so lightly done at the present time. The immigration bill recommended by Doctor Gulick, contains many desirable features. I very much doubt, however, if it could receive favorable action in Congress.

5. From the close of the Russo-Japanese War, in 1905, until the opening of the great war in 1914, certain American publicists repeatedly asserted that Japan entertained hostile designs upon the United States. These statements were eventually believed by many people. They gained currency during the school-boy agitation in 1906-7, and the land law agitation in 1913. These inflammatory articles described Japan as a great militaristic power.

In 1915, the Twenty-one Demands upon China created much criticism of Japan in this country. The Shantung controversy, which was seized upon by opponents of President Wilson, created much ill will. And the reports from Korea alienated many of the Christian people in this country. There is no doubt in my mind that among the great mass of our people the Japanese Government is today an object of suspicion. This, in my opinion, has complicated the situation in California. Many of our "better" people, who defended the Japanese in 1906 and 1913, have been alienated because of the reports of Japan's conduct in China, Korea, and Siberia. To be sure, the conduct of the Japanese Government has been unfairly criticized in many cases, but the bulk of the material in our papers has been condemnatory, and it has affected the judgment of a great mass of our people. This would be an excellent time to spread the anti-Japanese feeling in the Eastern states because the ground has been prepared by the Twenty-one Demands, Shantung, Korea, and Siberia.

6. It is very difficult to answer this question. If the opinion of the people of either country could be voiced by one man in each, we would

have the answer. Unhappily there are many elements in both countries, with different views and standards. To certain groups in this country, nothing that Japan could do would be satisfactory, and I believe there are similar groups in Japan who look upon the United States in the same way. But if I sense the opinions of the more thoughtful Americans I would say that they are very much interested in the development of the power of the military and bureaucratic elements in the government, and in the creation of good relations between Japan and her neighbors—China and Siberia. These things would do much to relieve the current suspicion. But there are certain forces in this country which, for one reason or another, will use all their influence to estrange the two peoples. We can not prevent this sort of thing, we can only try out best to eliminate every excuse for it.

ANSWERS BY HENRY VAN DYKE

Professor at Princeton University
Princeton, N. J.

1. The greater part of the misunderstanding between the people of Japan and the people of the United States arises from newspaper misrepresentation and the extravagant and sometimes violent remarks of political agitators in both countries. If this yellow fog could be cleared away the two countries would come to a better comprehension of the things in which they agree and the points on which they differ. A solution of these differences could then, in my judgment, be found through wise and mutually considerate action on the part of the governments of both nations, and through the cultivation of a spirit of friendship among the people who believe in pacific methods both of national progress and of international coöperation.

2. A very important element in the whole subject is the so-called "race question." You, like the other intelligent and thoughtful men of Japan with whom I had the pleasure of talking last summer, realize fully the importance and the difficulty of this question as it affects large masses of population. You know that we have already in the United States one problem of this general kind to deal with on a scale of unparalleled magnitude. I refer to the presence in this country of many millions of people of African descent, to whom the possession of full and equal civil rights must be secured without promoting the mingling of blood of the white and colored races—a mingling which, so far as our present knowledge goes, is not to the advantage of either race. It is not in any sense a question of inferiority or superiority, but one of purity and integrity. Having already a race question of such immense size and intense difficulty on our hands (largely, it must be confessed, through the fault of our own forefathers), the most thoughtful and humane of our American people do not wish to have another question, different indeed in many of its aspects, but after all similar in its fundamental considerations, laid upon us now for solution. This means, to put it briefly, that there should be a wise and real limitation of Japanese immigration to the United States. The other method of solution, namely, allowing the Japanese to come in large numbers, utilizing their labor and then denying them equal civil rights, is out of harmony with the principles on which the American republic is founded.

5. Your interrogatory contains the phrase, "a permanent solution of the Japanese problem." I do not believe that any solution can be arrived at now which will be permanent in the sense of being fixed, unalterable and sufficient for all time to come. There is no solution of that kind for any of the vital problems of humanity. Mankind is in a state of progress, sometimes retarded and sometimes stimulated by the difficulties which arise by the way. Sufficient unto the day is the problem thereof. All that we can demand of our solutions is that they should be good and honest and true to the existing conditions and that they should afford a solid and honorable standing ground for our efforts to meet and settle the problems of the future.

To me, of course, it seems essential that this standing ground should be in accord with the principles of the Christian religion.

ANSWERS BY WM. D. WHEELWRIGHT

Pacific Export Lumber Company
Portland, Ore.

1. All three.

2. There is a natural antipathy between the Oriental and the Anglo-Saxon. The grievances urged by the people in California are based on this want of congeniality in part; this tends to the formation of foreign colonies in that state made up of people who are not eligible for citizenship, and such colonies are considered undesirable. Another objection is that the Japanese are industrious, so are formidable competitors of our people, who want to do as little work as possible. There is more objection to the Japanese in California than in the United States generally, or in any other state, greater even than in Oregon, where there is much hostility. There is undoubtedly a widespread feeling that the Japanese are not trustworthy; that they don't keep their contracts. My own experience, extending over a period of twenty years of continuous dealings with many Japanese houses in Japan, is directly contradictory to this. I have always found them scrupulously honorable in keeping their engagements; which I have asserted on every possible occasion, and where I am known I am sure that my expression has had a good effect.

3. As above stated, the most formidable anti-Japanese sentiment is in California, next in Oregon, but in other parts of the country it is much less prominent; this because they have so few Japanese in other states that the problem does not present itself so forcibly.

4. As stated in the letter referred to, the problem is beyond my power to solve. My feeling is that Japan should find its development in Asia. And I have many times suggested that the United States and Japan together should have a joint policy in dealing with China. The two nations could act together, not only for the benefit of each, but also for the benefit of China, which needs help of all kinds, financial and otherwise. In doing this I have contended that these two most enlightened nations, pledged to high ideals, could be trusted to undertake a beneficent exploitation of China on an altogether different plan from the one followed in the history of the world up to the present time, where the exploiter or invader studied his own interests alone. If something of that kind could be arranged, it would go a long way

toward settling the problem here, as the Japanese would be diverted from this country to China.

5. I can not say that there are any reasonable grounds for suspicion of Japan, while admitting that such suspicion is prevalent in this country. Some people here have found some of the Japanese unreliable, but to no greater extent, in my judgment, than they have found the nationals of other countries to be.

6. If the people of this country could be relieved of their fear of the Japanese coming over here in such numbers as to lower the standards of living among our laboring classes, and of their taking up land wherever they can get it by purchase or by lease and establishing foreign colonies in the various states, it would go a long way toward reestablishing the friendship that is now at such a low ebb. As Mr. Elihu Root pointed out long ago, the trouble is between the individuals of one nation and the individuals of the other; the relations between the two Governments have always been and are now extremely friendly and cordial, as I understand it.

If the states of Oregon and California could be persuaded to refer the matter to the national capital at Washington, D. C., with the request that the General Government take up negotiations with Japan looking to arrangements that will remove the cause of offense as far as possible, I believe that would be the plan to follow at the present time. I have been expressing this view, and shall continue to do so to the legislators of this state (Oregon), who will meet on or about the first of next January.

It may not be improper for me to remark here that my view has always been that the Japanese were entitled to the exercise of all the privileges in this country that are accorded to the nationals of other powers, by reason of a treaty that contains the "favored nation clause." I still think that this is the proper view to take, but it is claimed by some constitutional lawyers that the right to hold land in the states can be granted only by the states themselves, and not by the General Government, and if that is the case, then the General Government has overexercised its authority. In such case, the claim that the treaty is null and void (so far as these privileges are concerned) on the ground that the General Government has no right to conclude a treaty that is not in accord with the Constitution, would seem to be well founded.

ANSWERS BY RAY LYMAN WILBUR

President, Leland Stanford, Junior, University
Palo Alto, Cal.

1. Both economic and racial. The economic problem would solve itself were it not for the racial barrier. There has been a constantly increasing standard of living in the United States for the last hundred years and whenever there is a tendency for the standard of living to be lowered there is immediate resentment.

2. I think the primary objection against the Japanese began when they lived as isolated groups of men, for the most part single, and engaged in competitive labor with the other elements of the population. Certainly the Japanese have been lawabiding and industrious. There has been a constant comparison among the Californians between the Japanese and the Chinese. It has been felt that the Japanese as a rule was inclined to take advantage of technicalities and to throw up his job or his contract, while the Chinese kept the spirit of his word regardless of personal disadvantage. This may or may not be just, but it certainly is a widespread opinion.

3. The present anti-Japanese sentiment seems to me to be fairly universal among all classes of citizens (except perhaps among those who might be called the strictly intellectual groups) in California, Washington, and Oregon. There has been a spread of this sentiment throughout the United States largely owing its origin to California and to the fact that the redistribution of the colored race into the northern states due to war activities has brought before all thinking citizens the fear of adding another race problem to the almost insoluble one now faced by the United States. As long as the colored residents were confined largely to the South where they were understood and where a social system has been adopted by common consent that kept things on an even basis, this question was not a pressing one. The race riots in Chicago, Chester, Pa., and other places are due to this redistribution and have had, in my opinion, a considerable effect.

4. I do not feel competent to offer a permanent solution of the Japanese problem in California. My general idea would be to stop further immigration, except for students, business representatives, etc., and to arrange in the most equitable manner the affairs of all of the Japanese now located within the state.

5. There is a general understanding that there is a surplus of about a million per year of population in Japan that must find an outlet somewhere and a general feeling that Japan is organized along the lines of the German Empire and is consequently capable of devoting the deep and well-known loyalty of its people towards the imperialistic designs.

6. The present temper of the people of California in regard to the Japanese question is not normal and would be hard to satisfy. I feel though that a careful survey by the two governments of the various points of friction would lead to a continuation of that friendship between Japan and the United States that is so important to both nations. My own idea is that an open survey of the whole question by representatives of both nations would lead to a clear understanding of all the problems involved and would clear away many of the misconceptions. It is unfortunate that the exigencies of political campaigns in America permit a play upon the racial prejudices of certain elements in the population by ambitious politicians. After the heat of the campaign has passed such a survey as that above mentioned, if made, is bound to be more effective. I realize the difficulty that must face a high-minded, high-spirited citizen of Japan in facing the attitude taken towards his nation by many Americans. In the long run I feel that the people of the United States are capable of coming to a fair and equitable judgment of the rights of others when time is given for the facts to be studied and assimilated.

ANSWERS BY E. M. WILLIAMS

Professor of

Oriental Languages and Literature, University of California
Berkeley, Cal.

1. I think the principal reasons for the present anti-Japanese agitations in California are not only economic, but social and racial also. I may add that they are to some extent political as well. By political, I refer to the activities of the Japan association, which apparently with the approval of the Japanese consulate, organizes the Japanese communities, provides them with Japanese schools and otherwise seeks to keep them under control.

2. The chief objections to the Japanese in California, so far as I have heard them mentioned, are (a) their work-day is excessively long, and as they are both industrious and efficient, competition with them on the part of Americans is impossible without the lowering of American standards of comfort. (b) Their standards of living are much lower than that of their American neighbors, so that even where they receive the same wages, successful competition with them becomes possible only by the abandonment of American standards. (c) They bring with them into the United States Japanese ideals and Japanese manners and customs, which, however high, are not our own, and the perpetuation of which results in the establishment in our midst of alien communities out of touch and sympathy with our institutions. (d) Their organization into branches of the Japan association above mentioned.

3. The present anti-Japanese sentiment in the United States prevails chiefly on the Pacific Coast, where most of the Japanese in the United States are found. This sentiment is not confined to any one class of our people, but perhaps is most pronounced in the agricultural sections where the Japanese are settled.

4. I suggest that a permanent solution of the Japanese problems in this state can be made only through a convention between our two Governments which should be absolutely reciprocal in its terms, and which should henceforth permit only persons of certain classes to enter the country. In other words, all labor, skilled and unskilled, and especially including agriculturists, should be entirely excluded. This should be accompanied by certain concessions on the part of both Governments. Japan should bring about a dissolution of all the Japanese associations

now functioning in this country, give up Japanese schools and abandon all attempt to control the actions of Japanese residents here. She should, moreover, entirely abandon all claim upon Japanese born in this country, whether or not their parents or guardians may have made declaration of their American citizenship before they reach the age of fifteen years, as provided in the recently revised Japanese statute. On the other hand, the American Government should guarantee to all Japanese now lawfully in this country the full enjoyment of all their civil rights and should provide the necessary legislation to enable those who so desire to become citizens of the United States.

5. The grounds of suspicion of Japan are already given in the statements made above. Some feeling no doubt has also been created by the rather aggressive character of the Japanese Government in its relations with China and the widely prevalent belief that the Japanese Government is under control of a militaristic party.

6. The American people undoubtedly desire to maintain the historical friendship between our two nations. That can easily be done by a careful observance on the part of both peoples of the principle of the Golden Rule.

ANSWERS BY LEROY A. WRIGHT

San Diego, Cal.

1. The principal reason is political. There would be no agitation worthy of note were there no state or national elections. It must be admitted there is a growing prejudice against Japanese wage earners and Japanese husbandmen in many parts of the Pacific Coast. This prejudice is being capitalized by professional politicians and office seekers; this agitation is carried on under the mask of Americanism, and the agitators appeal to social, economic, and racial prejudice whenever the occasion requires.

2. The complaint most frequently advanced against the Japanese is that they do not fit into and become a part of American civilization, and that they colonize both in cities and country.

3. It is confined largely to the Pacific Coast states. It exists principally among labor organizations and in those communities where the Japanese, by reason of their economy, thrift, and industry have practically monopolized production or have come into competition with Americans to the disadvantage of the latter. Among the better class of American citizens, even in California, there is no sentiment against the Japanese.

4. The entire Japanese question is federal in scope and the state departments of the two Governments should adjust the same by amendment to the present treaty, if necessary, and by enactment of national statutes agreeable to both nations. It is imperative for the preservation of the traditional friendships of both peoples that the Japanese question be quickly removed from the political arena.

5. Colonization, nonassimilation, nonreliability of the Japanese servant class, and a general impression among Americans that the Japanese are lax in the observation of contractual relations.

6. It still exists among the better informed class of both people. If the state departments of Japan and of the United States can reach some solution of the question that will remove the agitation on the Pacific Coast, that friendship which exists between the better informed classes of the two peoples will again become general and the traditional friendship of Japan and of the United States will be fully restored. There should be an increased intercourse between the better classes of Japanese and American citizens. The educated and well-to-do Japanese

should travel more largely on the Pacific Coast, and should come in closer contact with our better class of citizens. There should be a better understanding and a closer touch between the two peoples, so that their ambitions, aspirations, economic, and social conditions should be more thoroughly and more exactly understood.

THE RECORDER PRINTING AND PUBLISHING CO.
SAN FRANCISCO